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I.—THE TALE OF GYGES AND THE KING OF LYDIA.

II.

We have now to consider the two great motifs of the Herodotean narrative—the folly of Kandaules and the queen's revenge. Did these belong to the popular tale, or did Herodotos find them elsewhere and insert them in the place of other incidents now lost? On this point the testimony of Plato is only negative. Nor does the replacement of the ring help us at all in itself. Undoubtedly the ring belonged to the murder scene. But this does not imply that the queen's revenge was the cause of the murder. No one, it is true, can disabuse himself of the feeling that the ring had something to do with the door episode. We may be sure that, in some form or other, the door episode goes back to the popular story. But this, too, does not presuppose the folly of Kandaules and, with it, the motive for the queen's revenge as elements in the popular legend. In short, we are again driven back to the brief summary of Plato. Nevertheless, before seeking possible testimony in other sources, it is worth noting that certain general considerations tend to suggest that something like the folly of Kandaules and the queen's revenge did exist in the popular story.

1. If Herodotos used the popular story at all—and this seems to be beyond a doubt—it would hardly be worth considering unless it had contained some such incidents as these.

2. Other versions of the story agree that Gyges was obliged to slay or be slain and that it was the queen who put him in this position.

3. The summary given by Plato does not preclude the presence of both elements. In such a brief statement as this, it is, in fact, just these two incidents that were most likely to be omitted. An abstract concerns itself with the result, not the details.

But we shall get more light on this point from the later references to Gyges. We should remind ourselves, however, that now our investigation is attended by growing complication and uncertainty. We may have to reckon with the faint echo of still other versions long since lost, or of antique attempts to reconcile Herodotos and Plato on no better testimony than ours. These two versions were now famous in the literature. Their secondary and reflex influence upon the old popular version itself is, by no means, impossible. An inaccurate and defective memory, also, is not the exclusive possession of our own day. Finally, we may have to deal with mere rhetoricians. This tribe cannot be trusted to preserve a paltry fact at the expense of a moral sentiment or a brilliant antithesis.

The first important passage to be considered is still a fifth version of Gyges' rise to power. This is found in Iustinus, I 7, 14 f., and reads as follows:

Fuere Lydis multi ante Croesum reges variis casibus memorabiles, nullus tamen fortunae Candauli comparandus. Hic uxorem, quam propter formae pulchritudinem deperiebat, praedicare omnibus solebat, non contentus voluptatum suarum tacita conscientia, nisi etiam matrimonii reticenda publicaret, prorsus quasi silentium damnum pulchritudinis esset. Ad postremum, ut adfirmationi suae fidem faceret, nudam sodali suo Gygi ostendit. Quo pacto et amicum in adulterium uxoris sollicitatum hostem sibi fecit et uxorem, veluti tradito alii amore, a se alienavit. Namque brevi tempore caedes Candauli nuptiarum pretium fuit et uxor mariti sanguine dotata regnum viri et se pariter adultero tradidit.

The work of Iustinus, which Schanz¹ is inclined to place in the third century A. D., is a collection of edifying extracts of the most pronounced rhetorical type from the *Historiae Philippicae* of Pompeius Trogus. This was written in the age of Augustus. It is now generally acknowledged that the principal authority of Trogus was Timagenes, a Greek historian of the same period, but slightly earlier. The credit of this discovery belongs to A. von Gutschmid,² but his rather sweeping conclusions are

¹ *Geschichte der Röm. Literatur*, 2^{te} Aufl., München, 1899, par. 330.

² *Kleine Schriften*, V 352; V 218.

now more clearly limited and defined.¹ Whether Trogu8 took this story of Kandaules directly from Timagenes is uncertain.² But, at all events, either directly or through Timagenes, it goes back to some Alexandrian source not far from the time of Plato.³ This is the important point for us and may be considered as fairly proved.

Now, this version of Iustinus + Trogu8 + X might be merely a development of Herodotos for a special rhetorical purpose, though, when we consider the period of X, his entire dependence on Herodotos may fairly be doubted. Or, as this version comes to us through a line of historians, X, or his ultimate literary source, must be the result of rationalization. If so, the date of X goes to show that the legend used was none other than that which Herodotos and Plato had before them. Or, thirdly, the version of Iustinus may represent a rationalization colored by the reflex influence of Herodotos. Let us examine the passage itself.

The account of Iustinus comes nearer to Herodotos, as Gutschmid⁴ observes, than any other version. But, of course, this observation has no definite value for us until we are able to say wherein Herodotos differed from the popular story. Gutschmid also noted that Iustinus' closing words, *regnum viri*, etc., seem to echo the last sentence of Herodotos, *ἔσχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν βασιλῆϊν Γύγης*. But who will fail to perceive that this phrase forms an equally fitting and characteristic ending to the popular story?

On the other hand, though this version of Iustinus is not only shrouded in rhetoric, but, to a certain extent, has actually disappeared in it, no one will fail to perceive that it contains elements not found in Herodotos. The differences, as Gutschmid himself observes, are noteworthy. Kandaules talks of his wife to everyone, not to Gyges alone, as in Herodotos. This, to be sure, might be due to carelessness. The story is several degrees removed from its literary source and rhetoric is not concerned with accuracy in details. But a far more important difference

¹ Mommsen, *Hermes*, XVI 619; Wachsmuth, *Rhein. Mus.*, XLVI 477; *Einleit. in das Stud. der alten Gesch.*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 115, f., etc.

² See Schanz, l. c., par. 329, and authorities quoted.

³ Many attempts to identify the ultimate authority of Trogu8 more definitely have been made (cf. Schanz, l. c., par. 329) but with no great success. But the purposes of this investigation do not require any further examination of this question. For us it is sufficient to call him X.

⁴ *Kleine Schriften*, V 53, f.

between Iustinus and Herodotos is suggested by the sentence, *quo pacto*—alienavit and the expression, *brevi post tempore*. Upon considering these with the remainder of the passage, the version which emerges from Iustinus' rhetoric is about as follows:

Kandaules talked of his wife to everybody. This emphasizes more than in Herodotos the folly and bad taste of the king. Finally, to prove his statements, he puts Gyges, his trusted friend, behind the door, as in Herodotos (*nudam—ostendit*). As in Herodotos again, the queen saw Gyges, but made no sign, as she understood the situation. Her love for Kandaules is therefore turned to hatred, and she dreams of revenge (*uxorem—alienavit*). Hence she yields to Gyges, who had fallen in love with her, and had therefore become the king's enemy (*quo pacto—fecit*). Not long after, having gained Gyges, she offered him the throne and herself if he would kill the king. The deed is accomplished and the price paid in full.

It has already been observed that the door episode here is undoubtedly that of Herodotos. It is equally clear, on the other hand, that the love affair is that of the popular story, and that it also occurs in the chronological sequence implied by Plato's summary. It is not found in Herodotos, but we have already discovered that its absence is due to rationalization. We have even followed one trace, perhaps, of the process in his passing comment regarding Gyges' visits to the queen. The replacement of the ring motif brought to light that these visits in the popular story must have referred to the love affair. The version of Iustinus shows that, setting aside the ring motif, which, in this connection, is not yet accounted for, the love affair was, or could be, quite in harmony with the door episode. In Iustinus the love affair was, in fact, the immediate result of it. The visits are, naturally, after the door episode, not before it, as in Herodotos. The interview with Gyges is *brevi post tempore*, i. e., after the love affair was a *fait accompli*, not, as in Herodotos,¹ the very next morning. These two changes in Herodotos would evidently be due to rationalization, with the view of placing the queen, and, especially, Gyges, in a more favorable light, but, at the same time, without disturbing the great dramatic events of the story. For it will be observed that, while Iustinus' version shows that the love affair of the old legend is perfectly compatible with the door episode, it also shows that the love affair is in perfect

¹ ὡς δὲ ἡμέρῃ τὰχιστα ἐγγύονε, etc. The reader will observe with what a trifling alteration Herodotos changed the whole atmosphere of the story.

harmony with the queen's revenge. The motive of her revenge is the same as in Herodotos, it is only her method of executing it that has changed. The love affair, in short, has become a chapter of it. How much the personal appearance of Gyges may have been supposed to influence the queen in her resolve to write this chapter cannot be said. At all events, it helped to square accounts with Kandaules by a method which some of the Italian *novelle*, among other literary authorities, would have us believe is peculiarly feminine. It also committed Gyges to herself and thus paved the way for further designs. It will be observed that the plot so far developed bears an even closer resemblance to the story of Rosamund than the version of Herodotos itself.

The last sentence of Iustinus is a rolling period so full of rhetoric and moral sentiment that the details of the murder have entirely disappeared and the substance of the interview has all but reached the vanishing point. It might appear, at first sight, that when she thought the proper time had come the queen simply appealed to Gyges through the motives of lust and ambition, without any reference to the door episode. The statement of Plato does not help us here. For a moment, therefore, let us consider Iustinus from another point of view.

The version of Iustinus is a highly rhetorical passage, the object of which is not so much to tell the story of Kandaules as to point a moral to be derived from that story. It is also an abridgment. Further, it is the abridgment of a rationalized version which was also clearly influenced by a strong rhetorical bias and, after the well-known methods of ancient rhetoric, presented from that side, a different side from the one presented by Herodotos. The centre of gravity, so to speak, in Iustinus is the folly of Kandaules, for the dire but natural consequences of which, he can blame no one but himself. The best way to bring out this sentiment and point the moral was to aggravate the guilt of Gyges and his accomplice as much as possible, having first emphasized the close and tender relations which had previously existed between them and Kandaules. It is clear that the story of Iustinus has been influenced by this consideration, and that it is due to this cause if his last sentence was meant to imply that the queen simply appealed to baser motives alone.

But as a matter of fact Iustinus' words do not necessarily imply this. They are also a rhetorical abridgment. The story

of Herodotos, evidently very close to Iustinus' original as well as to the popular tale, agrees with Xanthos that Gyges was forced by the queen to slay or be slain. This motif is not precluded by the abridgment of Iustinus any more than it was by the abridgment of Plato. It is perfectly compatible with the plot of Iustinus so far developed. The queen, having first posted her slaves as in Herodotos, may summon Gyges to the interview and tell him—as a last resort—that he must slay or be slain. She may also impart the information, hitherto kept to herself—certainly, in the popular story, Gyges never betrayed the fact—that she saw him *ἐξιώντα διὰ τῶν θυρῶν*, that she knew who placed him there, that, if he now refuses to comply with her wishes, she shall, let us say, copy Phaidra's method of revenge upon Hippolytos.

There can be little doubt that the murder scene in the model of Iustinus was the same that we find in Herodotos. The special point too that the queen makes of repeating the door scene betrays her state of mind and is a highly dramatic touch that can hardly have been absent from a popular tale which seems to have contained all the preliminary conditions leading up to it. In fact, Plato records that Gyges had the help of the queen in this episode and his statement has every appearance of referring to the account of it given by Herodotos.

We have seen that X, the ultimate literary source of Iustinus could not have been far from the time of Plato. This was the period of all others when we know that the old legend of Gyges was still current, when, in fact, the summary of Plato may have aroused new interest in it. Under such conditions it is not likely that X would have merely attempted to reconstruct Herodotos on the basis of Plato. It is easier and more reasonable to suppose that X was an independent rationalization of the old popular legend, affected, perhaps, by the phraseology of Herodotos. The high probability of this conclusion is further enhanced by the general considerations already mentioned.

If this is true—and I think that it can hardly be doubted—our question is answered, and we can be certain of that which, otherwise, is only highly probable. The old folk-tale used by Plato and Herodotos contained not only the erotic episode which Herodotos suppressed but it also contained the two great motifs of his version; the folly of Kandaules and the queen's revenge.

We now have to consider how the element of marvel was

harmonized with such a plot. The way in which the ring was used in the love affair has already been derived from Herodotos and Iustinus. The utility of it, also, for the slaughter of Kandaules is, of course, obvious. It may also be easily harmonized with the details of that scene preserved by Herodotos and referred to by Plato. What we still have to discover is how it was managed in the door scene. If Gyges possessed a ring of darkness, how was it that the queen saw him? That she did see him is the essential point of this episode in any version. It is not impossible, of course, to suggest a detail which will explain the situation. Plenty of hints for it might be drawn from other folk-tales of a similar nature. Fortunately, however, we are not driven to this solution of the difficulty.

Ptolemaios Chennos¹ who, according to Suidas, belonged to the latter half of the first century A. D., is known chiefly as the author of a *Καινὴ Ἱστορία* in seven² books. The abstract of it by Photios³ shows that he was a mythographer of the semi-novelistic type.

In this work,⁴ as reported by Photios, Chennos stated:

"The wife of Kandaules, whose name Herodotos does not mention, was called Nysia.⁵ According to report, she was *δίκροτος*,⁶ and extremely sharp

¹ See Christ, *Griechische Litteraturgeschichte*, 3d edit., Munich, 1898, p. 762. See, also, Müller's *Geog. Graeci Min.*, II, p. LVII. I regret that the article of Hercher, J.J., *Suppl.* I 269-293, is not available to me.

² 'Sechs Bücher' (Christ, l. c.) is an oversight.

³ Cod. 190.

⁴ *Mythographi Graeci*, Westermann, p. 192; Müller FHG, III, 383, note; IV 278.

⁵ On these names (Tudo, Nysia, Habro) for the queen of Kandaules, see, especially, Müller, FHG, III 384, note 54, and IV 278.

Tudo (Damaskenos-Xanthos) is the only name deserving any serious consideration. She was a Mysian princess according to Xanthos, and Müller, l. c., therefore, suggests that Nysia is a mistake for Mysia. It is just as likely to be a name manufactured by the authority of Chennos on the basis of Mysia. Elsewhere, Nysia is not vouched for except in a passage which was probably derived directly or indirectly from Chennos himself. This is a poetical note which J. Tzetzes wrote on his own version of the Gyges story, *Chiliades*, I 144. It is found in Cramer's *Anecdota Oxon.*, III 351 (also quoted in Müller's FHG, IV 278);

Ἡ τοῦ Μυρτίλου τούτου δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ καὶ Κανδαύλου,
Παρὰ Αἰνεία φέρεται Σαμιακοῖς ἐν λόγοις
Νυσσία κλῆσιν ἔχουσα πρὸς Τερτύλλαν ὡς γράφει
Τις Πτολεμαῖος ἅμα τε καὶ Ἑφαιστίων κλῆσιν.

of sight, being in possession of the stone *δρακοντίτης*,¹ and on this account perceived Gyges when he was passing out of the door. Others call her Tudo,

On 'Aineias' and his *Σαμιακοὶ Λόγοι* see Müller, FHG, IV 278 (not mentioned in Pauly-Wissowa). This one reference of Tzetzes is all that we know of him. He may be real, but under the circumstances, the reputation of Tzetzes is such (cf., e. g. Krumbacher, Byzant. Litt. 2d edit., p. 527) that we need not take Aineias and his book too seriously. Neither Tzetzes nor Chennos himself (Hercher, l. c.) is above suspicion when supportin a statement by some remote authority. Bogus references are, in fact, a noticeable characteristic of Ancient Learning in her senility. We find it in the Origo Gentis Romanae, in the astonishing work of Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, etc.

The Abas, however, cited by Chennos in this passage is mentioned elsewhere. See FHG, IV 278 and Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa, I, p. 19, no. 11.

The names of Klytia and Habro rest on the authority of Chennos alone.

The tale of Plexiroos is clearly an explanation manufactured *ad hoc*, though it is not at all unlikely that Chennos had an earlier authority for it. The intrusion of the mignon into all departments of literature is highly characteristic of the later Alexandrian Age.

As a matter of fact, Herodotos' failure to name the queen of Kandaules, in itself, tends to show that he had the popular story before him. The chances are that she had no name in the popular story. 'The queen,' *ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ βασιλέως*, is usually quite enough for a fairy-tale.

¹ That is, she had a 'double pupil.' On the origin and meaning of this word and its connection with the superstition of the Evil Eye and supernatural keenness of vision see my article 'Pupula Duplex, a comment on Ovid, Amores, I 8, 15,' Studies in honor of Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, Baltimore, 1902, pp. 287-300. On p. 291, f., of that article I mentioned Cuvier (Pliny, III, p. 24, Lemaire) and E. Müller (Philol. VII, p. 254, n. 40) as the only two persons who, to my knowledge, had ever expressed any opinion on a pupula duplex. I might have added from the sphere of literature, Théophile Gautier, 'Le Roi Candaule,' Nouvelles, Paris, Fasquelle, 1893, p. 376, and Robert Lytton, 'Gyges and Candaules,' Chronicles and Characters, London, 1868, vol. I, p. 66. The passage from Gautier is well worth reading as a piece of fine writing on a phenomenon which he did not understand. Lytton says:

She mused a little; and her intricate eyes,
Orb within orb, grew dark with cruel light.

These lines were evidently suggested by the passage from Chennos. They do not explain *δίκωρος*.

At the time my investigation of the double pupil was published (cf. p. 290, n. 1) the 4th volume of *Mélusine*, containing one of Tuchmann's valuable articles on the Evil Eye was not available to me. Since then, a copy has come into my hands, and, for the benefit of any who may be interested in the subject, I add here a notable reference (l. c., p. 33) to the superstition in modern times which had entirely escaped me.

Ami-Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Paris, 1840, vol. II, p. 123, gives the contents of two Servian folk-songs in which the leading part is played by the double pupil as a sign of the Evil Eye.

some Klytia, but Abas calls her Habro. They say that Herodotos suppressed her name because his favorite Plexiroos, a native of Halikarnasos, fell in love

Tuchmann also notes (l. c., p. 33) Vair, *Trois Livres des Charmes*, Paris, 1583, p. 106 and (l. c., p. 79), Boguet, *Discours des Sorciers*, Paris, 1607, pp. 313-318; *Six Advis en fait de Sorcellerie*, pp. 28-30 and 60. These, however, belong to a class which I had purposely omitted from my investigation because they are nothing but the more or less inaccurate reference to Pliny, VII, 17 not infrequently found in the numberless pseudo-scientific treatises on witchcraft which appeared in the 16th and 17th centuries. Vair, for example, says, (passage quoted by Tuchmann, l. c.); *Finablement (ainsi que dit Didymus) ceux-là charment facilement . . . qui ont deux prunelles en chaque oeil, ou bien l'effigie d'un cheval en l'un d'eux . . .* The passage is practically a translation of Pliny, VII, 17. 'Ainsi que dit Didymus'—the mention of Didymos in this connection is also found in later authorities—is an interesting case of hereditary citation by name only.

The ultimate authority for 'ainsi que dit Didymus' is a fragment of Didymos Chalkenteros, *Symposiaka*, II, regarding Pliny's Thibii (preserved by Steph. Byzant., 314, 6, M.; cf. M. Schmidt, *Fragmenta Didymi Chal.*, Leipzig, 1854, p. 370) which reads; *θανατοὶ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῶν, οἷς ἂν πλησιάσῃ, καὶ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν εἰς θάλασσαν ριπέντα οὐ καταδύουσιν.*

It is perfectly obvious that Didymos and Pliny had a common source for this statement. This, as we learn from Pliny himself (l. c.) was Phylarchos. It was, therefore, proper that Didymos should be mentioned as a Pliny-commentary at this point, and as a matter of fact, his name was found there earlier than Dalecamp's edition of 1587. The exact source, however, is not given and the fragment itself is not quoted.

Now, it will be observed that the reference to the double pupil which Vair ascribed to Didymos is not found in Didymos at all but in Pliny, of whom Vair says nothing. It would, therefore, appear that some previous authority on the point taken up by Vair had found the name of Didymos in a Pliny-commentary (VII, 17) and without taking the trouble to trace the reference had, innocently or otherwise, concealed the real source of his information by referring it to Didymos. In fact he may have looked upon Didymos as the original source of the passage and therefore referred to him directly as the author of it, without mentioning Pliny. This is a well-known mediaeval habit of citation and not always designed to awe the reader with a show of superior and recondite learning. At all events, it is evident that Vair and several of his successors in the same line of discussion quoted the name of Didymos without looking up the passage in question.

¹So Westermann. The word is not found in L. and S. (8th ed.). "*Draconitis sive Dracontias*" according to Pliny XXXVII 158. Compare Solinus. XXX 16, 17; Isidorus, XIV 14, 7; XIV, 5, 15; Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, 7, 656, f. (Philostratos, *Apoll. Tyan.*, III 6). The superstition of dragon-stones, toad-stones, adder-stones, etc., etc., is world-wide and quite too extensive to allow of further mention here.

with an hetaira by the name of Nysia, and failing to win her, hanged himself in despair. For this reason Herodotos avoided mentioning the name of Nysia because it was hateful to him."

The important point for us in this curious passage is the reason why Nysia, as Chennos names her, saw Gyges when he went out of the door. She possessed a "double-pupil" and also a "dragon-stone." These, Chennos observes, gave her supernatural powers of vision. In my article on the double pupil I pointed out that, in his desire to emphasize this gift of Nysia, Chennos has, after the manner of his kind, unnecessarily doubled powers amounting to the same thing. One or the other would have been sufficient. It is very likely, therefore, that one of these gifts is a later addition either by Chennos himself or some predecessor.

It will be noted that no ring of Gyges is mentioned here.¹ Either the double pupil or the dragon-stone, however, gives its possessor a keenness of vision superior not only to objects merely opaque to ordinary mortals but also, be it observed, to any sort of enchantment. This, in itself, suggests that Gyges did have his ring although Chennos does not mention it. But here, again, we are so fortunate as to have the support of a reference—the only one which has survived from antiquity.

About a century after Chennos, Philostratos, while expatiating at length, in his life of Apollonios of Tyana,² on the subject of Indian dragons, the method of capturing them, etc., observes that the wonderful stone in their heads (i. e., the *δρακοντίτης* of Chennos) is "invincible even against the ring which, they say, was possessed by Gyges." This is clearly a reference to the version which Chennos or some one in the line of his authority had in mind. In this version Gyges had the ring which he found in the brazen horse. He was placed behind the door by Kandaules (who, doubtless, had no suspicion that he possessed such a ring³).

¹ That, for that reason, Gyges did not possess a ring in this version was the conclusion which evidently prompted the *ἀλλήγορία* of Tzetzes and a reconstruction of Gutschmid's, both of which will be considered in another connection.

² III 6 (vol. I, p. 88, K.). This reference was overlooked by Gutschmid.

³ This, of course, may be taken for granted. On page 290 of my article, on the double pupil, I suggested that in the version to which Chennos refers, Gyges was not put behind the door but, without the connivance of Kandaules, was simply relying upon his ring. A further examination of the old tale of Gyges and his ring shows that the statement should be revised. Gyges did rely upon his ring to escape, but he was put behind the door by Kandaules.

When Gyges left the room he naturally supposed that his ring had made it possible for him to escape without detection. But Nysia possessed supernatural powers which enabled her to see him in spite of it.

Here then, at last, we have the famous door-scene in its entirety. Nysia's discovery of Gyges is accomplished by one of the most popular and characteristic devices of folk-lore, even the most primitive. This is the use of the counter-charm.

I think that we may hardly doubt that this detail which we owe to the joint testimony of Chennos and Philostratos goes back to the old story. In fact, one fails to see how the old story, if it contained the door episode at all could get along without this motif. As we have good reason to believe that it did have the door episode the source of Chennos-Philostratos becomes a matter of less importance. A brief statement however will not be out of place as it leads us to other conclusions of some value.

The entire passage of Chennos appears to be nothing more than a series of comments on the version of Herodotos and suggested by other literary sources. We have already seen¹ that some of them may still be identified. This, however, proves no more than the fact that Chennos himself was perhaps, unacquainted with the old story as a whole and therefore attached some reference to it which he found, no one knows where, to the version of Herodotos which was familiar to all. In other words, we should here find a proof that by the end of the first century the old popular legend as such had wholly or partially disappeared. It may very well be that this was actually the case.

That Chennos himself invented his statement regarding the door episode is far from impossible *per se*. Hercher's brilliant investigation² showed that Chennos was not averse to this method of citation. But it has since been abundantly shown³ that Hercher's conclusions were altogether too sweeping. Moreover, in this particular instance, the theory of manufactured information is rendered improbable by, at least, three things:

1. When Chennos gives bogus information he usually supports it, after the manner of his kind, by definite, but purely imaginary, authorities. He gives no authority here.

2. Philostratos, evidently referring to the same story, adds a detail not found in Chennos.

¹ Compare note 5, p. 367.

² JJ., Suppl. I, p. 269-293.

³ See, for example, Müller, Geog. Graeci Min. II, p. LVII.

3. The testimony of both Philostratos and Chennos is to the effect that in the first and second century, at least, the superstition of the *δρακοντίτης* was closely associated with this particular story. Such being the case a passage from Pliny also tends not only to show that the statement of Chennos-Philostratos goes back to an earlier source, but, also, in a general way, what that source may have been.

In XXXVII 158, a passage on jewels which begins by quoting Zoroaster,¹ Pliny mentions various names for the dragon-stone. This implies that he may have looked up the subject in more than one authority. He then adds a brief description of how dragon-stones are procured, which shows something very like a community of source with Philostratos, l. c. All this suggests that, although he does not happen to mention it, Pliny, who is somewhat earlier than Chennos, must have been acquainted with that version of the Gyges story in which the dragon-stone played such an important part.

If Pliny is to be reckoned with here, the source of Chennos-Philostratos is even more likely to have been some of the Alexandrian paradoxographi who preserved the reference to Gyges among those passages on the magic and curative qualities of precious stones so characteristic of the age. If so, the ultimate source can hardly be other than the old story of Gyges itself. To a similar source and in a passage on rings might be traced that reference of Pliny to Midas's ring of invisibility which I have already mentioned.

It will be seen that the chief importance of investigating the sources of Chennos here was simply to show how his statement regarding the door scene may have gone back to the old story. That it actually did go back to the old story or that the old story contained practically the same thing was already acknowledged.

If, however, as seems likely, Pliny did know the story to which Chennos refers, his testimony also has some negative value for another purpose. Chennos gave Nysia both a double pupil and a dragon-stone. Either confers upon its possessor exactly the same powers as the other. This habit of doubling marvels, as I have already said, is characteristic of his class. One of the two is a later addition to the story. Now, Pliny is our principal authority for the double pupil. He appears to have collected all the references to it which he could find. But he does not

¹ See the article on Damigeron in Pauly-Wissowa.

mention Nysia's double pupil. The omission suggests that he did not know the book of Chennos because it was not yet in existence, and that Nysia's double pupil was not mentioned except by Chennos. In other words, Nysia's double pupil is likely to have been the invention of Chennos himself. If so, the charm which she used in the old story was the dragon-stone.

Before finally leaving this passage of Chennos it will be necessary to consider, briefly, a quotation from Joannes Tzetzes, Chiliades, I 3. This passage consists of twenty-nine political verses, *περὶ τοῦ Γύγου*. Tzetzes tells the story of Plato, then the story of Herodotos, and closes as follows:

Ἄλλ' ἤδη σε σφαδάζοντα καὶ κεκηνότα βλέπω,
 Τὴν Γύγου χρήζοντα μαθεῖν πᾶσαν ἀλληγορίαν.
 Ποιμὴν ὁ Γύγης λέγεται τῷ στρατηγῷ τυγχάνειν·
 Ἴππος χαλκοῦς ἀγέρωχός ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία,
 Ναὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ ἀνάκτορα· νεκρός, γυνὴ Κανδαύλου,
 Τῶν ἀνακτόρων ἀπρακτός ἐνδοθεν καθημένη.
 Ἦς τὸν δακτύλιον λαβὼν ὑπασπισταῖς δεικνύει,
 Καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπέκτεινε λαθραίως τὸν Κανδαύλη.
 Στρέψας δὲ τὸν δακτύλιον πάλιν πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα
 Γίνεται πᾶσιν ἐμφανής, λαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν.

A. von Gutschmid¹ combines this with the version of Iustinus and the reference in Chennos, and concludes that all go back to a popular story of Gyges, which he reconstructs as follows:

Kandaules zeigt dem Gyges sein nacktes Weib, sie aber sieht ihn *durch* die Thür mit Hilfe eines Zauberringes den sie ans Finger trägt, ruft ihn zu sich und übergibt ihm ihren Ring der *nach innen gedreht unsichtbar macht*, mit der Aufforderung den Kandaules zu tödten. Ungesehen führt er Mörder in Kandaules' Gemach, zeigt sich nach dessen Ermordung, indem er den Ring nach aussen dreht, wieder dem Volke und wird König.²

Granting for the moment that Tzetzes reflects any version of the popular story, Gutschmid's reconstruction is, in itself, open to objection.

1. Chennos does not say that the queen saw Gyges "durch die Thür," but that she saw him *ἐξίόντα διὰ τῶν θυρῶν*—as he went out of the chamber.

2. Moreover, if it was the queen herself who gave Gyges the ring of darkness, the story of Plato, undeniably a portion of the

¹ L. c. V, p. 53.

² The italics are mine.

old popular tale, must drop out altogether. This is not to be believed. In that case, too, the *δρακοντίτης* is identified with the ring of Gyges, and, therefore, has the power of making its possessor invisible. But the *δρακοντίτης* does not make its possessor invisible. On the contrary, as we have already seen, it makes visible to its possessor that which is invisible to less favored mortals. This idea runs through the folk-lore of all nations.

3. But Gutschmid's reconstruction is also quite upset by the passage from Philostratos which he does not mention and appears to have missed. This reference, as we have already seen, makes it clear that in the story to which Chennos referred the queen used her dragon-stone as a counter-charm to the ring of Gyges, and was thus enabled to see him *ἐξιώντα διὰ τῶν θυρῶν*.

The note of Tzetzes shows that he may have had some distant knowledge of the story told by Chennos. But his *ἀλληγορία*, upon which Gutschmid founds so much of his reconstruction, so far from containing any hint of a popular story of Gyges, is nothing more than an attempt to harmonize and explain the versions of Plato and Herodotos. It is accomplished by a peculiar species of rationalization eminently characteristic of Tzetzes and his period. This type of *ἀλληγορία* seems to have given the utmost comfort to those who used it, and was much admired by our forefathers. Here, however, Tzetzes has seasoned his *ἀλληγορία* of Plato and Herodotos with a touch of that Euhemerism which makes Palaiphatos, *de Incredilibus*, one of the dreariest books ever written. We may, therefore, dismiss the *ἀλληγορία* of Tzetzes and, with it, the reconstruction of Gutschmid, as of no value in this investigation. Gyges was put behind the door by Kandaules. He depended upon his ring to escape unobserved, but was detected by Nysia's counter-charm, the *δρακοντίτης*. This was a detail of the old story, and is vouched for by the combined testimony of Chennos and Philostratos.

One last item of somewhat doubtful testimony remains to be considered before closing our case. This is the (popular?) proverb, *Γύγου δακτύλιος*.

Several articles or notices in various old lexicographers and collectors of proverbs¹ explain this phrase. I select the one

¹ Diogenianos, III 99 (I, p. 232, Leutsch); Gregory of Kypros, II 5 (id., I, 358); II 58 (II 106); Makarios, III 9 (II 154); Apostolios, V 71 (II, p. 353); XV 85 (II, p. 649); Diogenianos II 20 (II, p. 20); Suidas, s. v. *Γύγου δακτύλιος* (also in Schott's *Proverbia Graecorum*, Plantin, 1612, p. 395); Eudokia,

who, if not the source of all the rest, appears to represent the oldest and best tradition. Γύγου δακτύλιος, says Diogenianos,¹ is used ἐπὶ τῶν πολυμηχάνων καὶ πανούργων, of cunning and resourceful people:

"When Gyges was a shepherd, the earth split open and he found a corpse wearing a ring. He put the ring on, and when he discovered that by turning the setting he could be visible or not, as he pleased, he slew the king by means of it and reigned in his stead."

This explanation is repeated with some minor variations and differing degrees of completeness by the other authorities whom I have mentioned in note 1, p. 374. It appears to have been drawn from Plato, and some state the inference, if not the fact, in so many words.

It will be seen, at once, that for the purposes of our investigation the value of this proverb depends entirely upon its age and pedigree—in this case extremely difficult, if not impossible, to determine with certainty. Diogenianos, himself, belonged to the second century, and portions of the *Paroemiographi* go back to the collections of the Alexandrian Age. But our existing corpus has been very much affected by various editions and additions. In this instance, the difficulty is increased by the fact that Γύγου δακτύλιος, as a proverb, is not once found in the elder literature. Indeed, for my own part, I cannot find it anywhere except in the lexical sources already mentioned. Commentators on the *Paroemiographi* (cf. Leutsch, e. g., on Diogenianos, l. c.) state that this proverb is often quoted by the late writers, but the assertion is not borne out by any of the examples which they cite. The earliest, are from Libanios and Gregory of Nazianzus. In none of them may a knowledge or use of the proverb be assumed. They appear to be no more than the usual literary reference to the story of Plato characteristic of the second and fourth centuries A. D., and principally due to the use of this passage in the schools for various

Violarium, 99 (p. 169, Flach); on this work once attributed to Eudokia Makrembolitissa but now known to be a compilation of the 16th century, see Krumbacher, l. c., par. 240 (p. 578).

Schott, l. c., p. 395, refers to the epistles of Tzetzes, and Leutsch, to a passage from Theodoros Prodromos in Boissonade's *Anecdota Graeca*, II, p. 458. I regret that neither of these works is available to me: another case occurs in Zonaras, 456.

¹ III 99, vol. I, p. 232, Leutsch.

educational purposes. None of them is based on a proverb *Γύγου δακτύλιος*. If there was ever any connection at all, the process must be reversed. In other words, the proverb *Γύγου δακτύλιος* may be a late addition to the corpus, drawn from just such examples as those in Gregory and Libanios and supported or suggested as a proverbial phrase by the familiar use in the schools of Plato's version of the old story. Strictly speaking, therefore, it would never have been a proverb at all, and we thus have an explanation of its absence from earlier literature. If this was the origin of the phrase, it has no value for us in this investigation.

On the other hand, a much earlier pedigree for the proverb and a different history of it are by no means impossible. Strictly speaking, the abstract from Plato which Diogenianos gives to explain his proverb really does not explain it very clearly. The reason may be because this was not the story from which the proverb was derived. If so, the situation could be explained by supposing that the proverb first appeared in one of the early Alexandrian collections. At that time the old story was still generally known. The definition, *ἐπὶ τῶν πολυμηχάνων καὶ πανούργων*, which we still find in all the lexical articles, was therefore quite sufficient. In that case, the abstract of Plato's version—often omitted from our lexical articles—should appear only after the real source of the proverb, that is to say, the old story of Gyges, had been forgotten. If, then, the abstract of Plato's version which I have quoted was added by Diogenianos himself we should thus have a further confirmation of our suspicion that, by the time of Chennos and Philostratos, the memory of our story had practically faded out. The phrase itself, however, may have still survived in common use. Many a proverbial expression goes back to a story long since forgotten.¹ It is true that it never appears in the literature, but this may be merely a matter of chance.

But, at all events, whether the proverb is a survival of our old story or not, it is certainly more in harmony with it than with any other version which we have considered. Every incident of the that story as it has unfolded before us has made this more and more evident. The proverb, in short, reflects the traditional character of Gyges himself and the popular conception of his character in the days of Herodotos and Plato was derived from his

¹See, in particular, the interesting and suggestive article by Crusius, *Märchenreminiscenzen im antiken Sprichwort*, *Verhandlungen der XL. Philologenversammlung*, 1890, p. 31-47.

adventures in the popular story. The adventures of Gyges with his ring were, naturally, the main interest of it. We have already discovered the most important ones. That there were others is beyond any reasonable doubt. The gap, so to speak, between the version of Plato and that of Herodotos is not yet accounted for. The ring was probably connected with some adventure in Sardis which first commended Gyges to the king's notice.

But, above all, a statement of Xanthos is of especial significance here. Xanthos, it will be remembered, says that Gyges, to begin with, was in high favor, but that, afterwards, the king became suspicious, and, with a view to getting rid of him, set him at various difficult tasks. Gyges, however, performed them all successfully and was finally reinstated in the king's favor. Is any reader of fairy tales inclined to doubt that, in this passage, Xanthos is probably drawing from the old popular legend of Gyges? The motif not only has a peculiar fitness here, but is common to the folk-lore of all nations. The hero finds his life contingent on the successful performance of certain extremely difficult and perilous tasks. They are usually three in number, and as a rule, the time in which they must be completed is absurdly inadequate. In character, too, they have a strong resemblance to those actually mentioned by Xanthos.¹ They are always performed successfully, usually with the aid of supernatural means, in this case, of course, by the ring of darkness. In most cases, the story then proceeds, to the fame and fortune of the hero as inevitably as to the ruin of the taskmaster.

So much for the details of our old legend so far as they may be discovered or guessed. But, before closing, we shall find it profitable to consider briefly the type of it as a whole.

The character of all the incidents as well as of all the actors as they have gradually been revealed, points to one conclusion. So far as type is concerned, the legend of how Gyges became king of Lydia is the story of the Adventurer, the Giant, and the Princess, or in more general terms, of Wit, its contrasted Opponent and Dupe, and its Reward. This lets in a flood of light upon a point which constituted one of the main differences between the various rationalizations which we have been considering. In fact, each rationalization represents and embodies the

¹ πόνους προστάτων χαλεπούς τε καὶ μεγάλους ἐπὶ τε κάπρους καὶ ἄλλα θηρία στέλλων.

author's interpretation of that point. This point is the ethics of the situation as portrayed in the old story.

In this favorite combination of the fairy tale, the Adventurer, Giant and Princess, no one was ever known to sympathize with the Giant, though, certainly, he is born for trouble as the sparks fly upward. It is quite useless for him to appeal to the courts of Fairy Land. Like the corporate giants of to-day he cannot recover damages and cannot expect any sympathy from the jury. He is stupid and brutal and full of folly. The hero outwits him, the princess betrays him and both live happily ever after, on the fruits of their combined labors.¹ Allowing for a touch or two of that alteration in Herodotos and Iustinus which we have already traced to diverging processes of rationalization, and will it be denied that Kandaules of the old story might well sit for the portrait of the Giant?

Not only the character of Kandaules but his situation is the same. The possession of the Princess—usually a sorceress, as in this story—is the one real condition of his life and power. The kingdom is within her gift as a matter of course. This is an unwritten law of Fairy Land which no one would dream of questioning. The difficulty with this condition does not begin until we transfer it to history, as Herodotos appears to have done, when he made the queen offer herself and the kingdom to Gyges in their memorable interview. A passage in the *Progymnasmata* of Nikolaos the Sophist (I, p. 288, W) shows that the difficulty in this statement was recognized by the ancient critics and much discussed by them. Modern commentators have usually seen in this detail of the Herodotean narrative the actual remains of a matriarchate in Lydia or, at all events of a theory to that effect held by the Greeks, and reflected, for example, in the legend of Herakles and Omphale.² But it would be more than dangerous

¹ A most excellent parallel, not only to the story of Gyges itself in a general way, but also to the ethics of the situation in the popular version, is found in Straparola's *Piacevoli Notti*, Bologna, 1899, p. 237, f. (V, IV). The Cornuto in this tale is a striking example of the Giant-type. Like Kandaules himself, like Antonio in Fletcher's 'Coxcomb', or in its original, the *Curioso Impertinente* of Cervantes, he is true to a rule which, so far as any popular story is concerned, holds good for every other Cornuto. He never gets any sympathy.

² See the examples collected by Gelzer, *Rhein. Mus.* XXXV 516, f. and Radet, l. c. p. 121. Radet, in common with many others, suggests that the Lydians actually did attach importance to the transmission of royal authority in the female line and that the fact points to the existence of a primitive matriarchate.

for the theory of a Lydian matriarchate to lean too heavily on the statement of Herodotos that the queen gave the kingdom to Gyges. The ease and naturalness of this statement in the old story on the one hand, and the difficulty of it in Herodotos on the other, are sufficiently indicative of its probable source and character.

The Adventurer in this combination may be a mere *filius terrae* and thus illustrate the favorite motif of lowliness raised to power, or, he may be one who slays the Giant as an act of vengeance for wrongs committed by him and thus comes into his own again. In the case of Gyges the former is suggested by Plato's abstract, the latter, by the actual history of his family as related by Xanthos, a popular tradition of which is by no means incompatible with Plato's abstract.

The Adventurer, like all successful adventurers, is usually remarkable for his address, versatility and quickness of wit. His career is based upon the not over scrupulous use of these qualities and constitutes the real savor and lasting popularity of the story. That, in these respects, the legendary Gyges was a dignified prototype of Jack the Giant-killer and something very like a replica of Odysseus has become more and more evident as each detail of the popular story has come to light. True to the old proverb he is *πολυμήχανος καὶ πανούργος*, a *Fortunatus*, as befits the favorite of Hermes,¹ born to strength and beauty and the love of women, as befits the favorite of Aphrodite.²

But recent investigation of the Herakles-Omphale legend, its sources and character, shows the danger of assuming that there really was any Lydian law of succession pointing to the existence of an ancient matriarchate. See E. Meyer, *Forschungen*, I 167; Cauer, *Rhein. Mus.*, XLVI 244; K. Tümpel, *Philol.* L 607; O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, Munich, 1902, p. 495, f.

¹ Compare *Iliad*, 20, 395; *Autolykos*, in the *Odyssey*, 19, 395, f., etc., etc. See, also, Roscher, *Hermes der Windgott*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1894.

The favorite of Hermes, of course, reflects the character and temperament of Hermes. But the story itself shows that Gyges must have been conceived up as the favorite of Hermes. Hermes is the god of blind luck. The highest cast of the dice, *Ἑρμοῦ κλήρος*, was named for him. Unexpected fortune, treasure-trove (Grimm, *D. M.*, p. 926, f., etc.) and the like are directly due to him. Compare the part played by him in the old fairy tale told by Phaedrus, *Append. III* (Riese). On the whole subject see Roscher, *l. c.*, p. 82, f. and *Lexikon*, I 2379, f. Magic rings are distinctly mentioned as the gift of Hermes by Lukian, *Navig.* 42, f.

Gyges may win the confidence of Kandaules and become his trusted adviser but there is no friendship with the Giant-type. Kandaules lays bare the secret of his life and fortune. From that moment he is merely a pawn in the game. Gyges, the Odysseus, and Nysia, the Kirke, of this story are now the principal characters. The scenes which follow—again suggestive, somehow, of the encounter of Odysseus and Kirke—really constitute a duel of wits between these Arcades ambo. Gyges had already done much to justify the favor of Hermes—if not of Aphrodite. But in the door episode he tried his disappearing trick once too often. Without knowing it he now has to deal with a rival magician. His charm is met and detected by the counter-charm of Nysia. In the love scenes which follow Gyges is far from telling all he knows—and so is Nysia. He says nothing of his ring or of the door incident—neither does she, until the time is ripe. Then she sends for him, plays the trump she has been keeping in reserve and takes the trick. Indeed, Nysia has scored every point which she undertook to make in this game. But in this realm of Oberon, Gyges the child of Fortune, is defeated only when defeat is the condition of his ultimate success.

My reconstruction of this old story is now as complete as I can

In fact, the whole story of Gyges, his character, the discovery of his ring, the power of disappearing at will which it conferred upon him, his wealth, his unvarying good luck; all point to the favor of Hermes. Indeed, Kandaules, the name of Gyges' mortal patron in Herodotos and Iustinus, and, presumably, in the popular story (Sadyattes in Xanthos) was, also a Lydian name of Hermes (as well as of Herakles). Cf. Höper in Roscher's *Lexikon*, s. v. Kandaules. The parallel is suggestive to one attempting to trace the origin and genetic development of the old popular story before it reached the stage with which my investigation is exclusively concerned.

²The favor of Aphrodite is not as clearly suggested. Beauty and charm, however, are the gifts of Aphrodite. Compare the legends of Paris, Kinyras, Aineias, Phaon, etc. These qualities are expressly given to Gyges by Damaskenos-Xanthos and that the same was true of the popular tradition appears to be suggested by the fact that Horace, for example, gives the name of Gyges to the hero of Odes III 7 (cf. II 5, 20), in both cases, a person evidently distinguished for those qualities. The prominence of the erotic motif in the old story of Gyges also points in the same direction and is, to some extent, supported by certain scraps of legend regarding him which have reached us from other quarters, perhaps originally due to the same association of ideas. Compare Müller, *FHG.* IV 171, 47; II 314, 34.

make it. The task involves many complications and difficulties. Moreover, while some points will perhaps be acknowledged at first sight others rest on a chain of probabilities incapable of final and irrefragable proof. I have aimed, however, in every case, to state the point in such a way that the reader may easily form an opinion of its value.

The article has been long and the course of it has been frequently interrupted by the discussion of many minor, but necessary details. It will, therefore, not be out of place to close it with a brief survey of results.

Gyges first of the Lydian Mermnadai rose to the throne in the seventh century B. C. His complex character, his commanding personality, his long and adventurous career, all united to make him a popular hero. He was also the first great barbarian with whom the Greeks had come in contact. It is evident that at an early date a mass of tradition had gathered about him. Some of it was no doubt of Lydian origin, though the Lydian element can no longer be traced. The most of it, however, was due to the rich fancy of the Ionian Greeks. It is probable that much with regard to him might have been gleaned from the old lyric poets, especially Archilochos and Mimnermos.

How far the tradition of Gyges which has reached us was affected by Kroisos it is impossible to determine. Perhaps to a considerable extent. Kroisos, last of the Mermnadai, was the Grand Monarque of his house. Hellenic court poets must have vied with each other in running back his pedigree and glorifying the achievements of his ancestors. Much of the Lydian legend of Herakles and Omphale has been ascribed to the efforts of these poets.¹ At such a time the old traditions of Gyges must have revived. For was he not, as Plato himself calls him, 'ancestor of the Lydian'?² No doubt, also, these traditions were not only revived, but also revised and enlarged. The temple tradition of Delphi should also be mentioned. It was lively and favorable, for the best of reasons. One or more unknown logographers may perhaps be assumed among pre-Herodotean authorities. Xanthos is credited with the use of native Lydian sources.

But of all the traditions regarding Gyges the most notable and

¹ See note 2, end, p. 378.

² It is not impossible that in this very phrase we have a trace of the fact that the popular story which Plato and Herodotos knew actually did assume final form in the time of Kroisos. See p. 387, note.

dramatic was that which told how he became the king of Lydia. No less than five different versions of this event have reached us. The first is from Herodotos. The second goes back to the *Lydiaka* of Xanthos, though it is known to us only in an excerpt from Nikolaos Damaskenos which was made by Constantinus Porphyrogennetos in the tenth century. The third is from Plato. The fourth is partially (?) reported by Plutarch; his source is unknown. The fifth comes to us from Pompeius Trogus through a rhetorical abstract by Iustinus; the ultimate source appears to have been some historian of the Alexandrian Age.

There was, however, still another and far older version than any of these, though its age and ultimate source cannot be determined precisely. This was a genuine popular legend, a fairy-tale, describing the career of Gyges on his way to the throne. It probably originated among the Ionians and Lydians not far from the period of its hero. It was doubtless comparatively simple at the beginning and grew as time went on. At all events, in the days of Herodotos and Plato it was a fully developed tale of the Graeco-Oriental type with a dramatic plot and a number of adventures. The actual persistence of it in the popular tradition after Plato's time cannot be proved. The latest reference to it comes from Philostratos at the beginning of the third century, A. D. At that time, apparently, it had long been dead. I find no certain trace of it in the legends of modern Greece or Asia Minor. The whole of it as a popular story was probably never committed to writing, and can only be recovered from the consideration of a few scattered references and the various literary versions.

An abstract of the first half is given by Plato to illustrate a point in a philosophical discussion. The omissions and abbreviations are such as were dictated by the purpose for which it was intended. A single sentence at the end, brief, but very valuable, gives a general outline of the remainder. The second half lies behind the rationalization of Herodotos and emerges as soon as we study Herodotos in connection with the last sentence of Plato, the version of Iustinus and the references of Chennos and Philostratos. As each detail comes to light it becomes clear that the version of Herodotos was drawn directly from the popular story, and, apparently, from nothing else. Not only that, but Herodotos handled the old tale with the utmost conservatism. He removed the element of marvel as a matter of course. This is why we hear nothing of the half which Plato related. The removal

of charm and counter-charm in the door scene was easy. The equation, so to speak, was still undisturbed. The removal of the ring from the murder was still easier, moreover, it was now demanded, in order to preserve that parallelism between the murder scene and the door scene which was characteristic of the old story.

For various reasons, among them his own good taste and the Delphian tradition of Gyges, Herodotos deleted the love affair. His method was simple and conservative. The removal of the ring still left some visits to the queen after the door episode. Herodotos put them before it and changed the motive for them. The resulting gap was then filled by moving up the interview to the next morning after the door scene. Thus, the great event of the story, the queen's revenge, could remain undisturbed. The queen's offer of herself and the kingdom is a feature of the old fairy-tale. This, and not a primitive Lydian matriarchate, is the explanation of an action inconsistent with the ordinary laws of royal succession.

The gap between Plato and Herodotos should also be considered. There was an adventure here with the ring which introduced Gyges to Kandaules, though this is not vouched for by any antique authority. His confidence was finally gained by Gyges through the performance of several difficult tasks with the aid of the ring. For this detail Xanthos gives us the clue.

Gyges was conceived of as the favorite of Hermes and Aphrodite. The tradition of his beauty, strength and address, his versatility, cunning and energy, in short, of his likeness to Odysseus, goes back to the old popular story. The queen in that story had much in common with Kirke. For the sake of greater clearness I append here a brief outline of my attempted reconstruction. The type is that of the Adventurer, Giant and Princess.

Gyges [the son of Daskylos and] the ancestor of Kroisos was a shepherd when he was young, in the service of [Kandaules] king of Lydia. Once upon a time there was a storm and an earthquake so violent that the ground split open near the place where Gyges was watching his flocks. Gyges was amazed at the sight and finally went down into the cleft. The story tells of many wonderful things which he saw there (these details are lost).

[They were also seen by the other shepherds of Lydia? (Philos.)]

Among these wonderful things was a brazen horse which was hollow and had doors. In it was nothing but a corpse, of heroic size, and on one of its fingers a gold ring.

[The corpse—or the ring—was that of Midas? (Pliny)].

Gyges took the ring and came out again.

Sometime later he attended the monthly assembly of the shepherds and while there accidentally discovered the qualities of his ring, as described by Plato. He then procured his appointment as one of the messengers to the king and went up to Sardis to seek his fortune.

After reaching Sardis an adventure with the ring brought him to the notice of Kandaules (?). At first, he was highly favored but later the king, who was cruel and whimsical, became suspicious of Gyges and set him at several tasks certain, as he supposed, to compass his destruction. Gyges, however, performed them all successfully with the aid of his ring, was reinstated in favor and given great estates (Xanthos, who, himself, gives an idea of these tasks).

[Further adventures (amatory and otherwise) with his ring?].

Gyges was now not only rich and powerful but also admired and feared for his beauty, strength and address, and for his versatility and superhuman knowledge of what was going on. The king who, like everyone else, knew nothing of his ring (?), found Gyges invaluable, gave him the post of chief adviser and consulted him on all occasions.

There was one thing, however, which Kandaules had always kept jealously guarded, because it was the principal source, the real secret, of his power. This was his wife. She was [a Mysian princess and] exceedingly beautiful. But what made her indispensable to Kandaules was the fact that she was also very wise and powerful, being a mighty sorceress.

The one vulnerable spot in Kandaules was his passion for his wife. Like all who had ever seen her he was utterly bewitched by her beauty and as his confidence in Gyges increased he began to talk of it more and more freely. At last he insisted upon showing her. [Gyges refused, foreseeing mortal peril to himself from either, or both. But at last he was forced to comply and] the programme devised by Kandaules was carried out as related by Herodotos.

Gyges gazed upon her. She was more lovely even than Kandaules had described her, and Gyges fell in love with her then and there. Finally, having turned his ring around to make himself invisible, Gyges left the room.

The queen, however, [possessed a dragon-stone. Either when she first came into the room or] as he was going out [of it she] had seen Gyges [in spite of his magic ring]. But she made no sign. She knew that the situation was due to Kandaules and swore to be avenged. When, therefore, Gyges, perhaps at her own instigation, came to her and declared his passion, revenge and, possibly, other considerations, prompted her to yield. Gyges was able to visit her unobserved on account of his magic ring and the intrigue went on for some time, [nothing being said on either side regarding the door episode.]

At last, when the queen saw that Gyges was entirely in her power, and being also in love with him herself, she laid her plans and sent for him. When he arrived, she told him [for the first time—as in Herodotos—that she had seen him passing out of the chamber, and why,] that now Gyges must slay Kandaules or else die himself. Whatever the feelings of Gyges may have been, his situation, despite his magic ring, was even more desperate than in Herodotos. He had a sorceress to deal with and was committed to her by ties which he could not break, even if he had so desired.

Gyges acceded, the destruction of Kandaules was planned and carried out

by the two as described by Herodotos, and with the aid of the magic ring as hinted by Plato.

When the deed was accomplished she gave Gyges the kingdom, as she had promised. He made her his queen [and they lived happily ever after.]

Such is the tale of Gyges, ancestor of Kroisos the Lydian and the founder of the house of the Mermnadai.

It will be seen that the most of this story comes from Plato and Herodotos. Other versions and references have contributed something, but their principal use has been to show how and why this is the case. They have also shed important light upon the ethics of the old story.

As containing a record of the genuine history of Gyges, Plutarch and Herodotos have each had their day. Just at present Xanthos is in the ascendant. My investigation was not concerned with this point and yet, indirectly, it has borne upon it to a certain extent. Plutarch's account may be safely dropped as only partial and a mere aetiological myth at that. Plato, Herodotos and Iustinus reduce to one source, the old popular tale. All we have to consider, then, is the popular tale and Xanthos. Now even those who make the most of Xanthos as an historical authority, of course, recognize that he contains folk elements. I am inclined to believe that he contains little else. If this is the case, practically all the Greeks knew of Gyges, at all events, of this portion of his career, rested on folk-tradition. But for that reason to reject the truth of it in toto, would be more than unsafe. It must not be forgotten that Gyges, though a hero of the popular fancy, is also the Gu-gu of the Assyrian inscription and unmistakably a great historical personage; further, that, with due allowance for certain characteristic developments and additions, the traditions of such a man are by no means untrue simply because they are popular. Indeed, the general similarity between Xanthos and the popular story is suggestive of something approaching a common source. It is for the biographer of Gyges to decide how far this community of traditions regarding him is due to the fact that the ultimate source of them is the actual historical truth.

The different rationalizations of our story were largely influenced by the conception each author had or wished to convey of the ethics of the situation. It is interesting to see how entirely different are the characters of the three personages in the old tale, in Herodotos and in Iustinus, and yet how slight, withal, are the changes which made them so.

The most powerful reagent was the fact that Gyges, Kandaules, and the queen were taken out of the free air of Fairy Land and subjected to the laws of ordinary humanity. They were all lifted and ennobled by the surpassing genius of Herodotos. They were all debased by the rhetorical bias of Iustinus.

In the old tale, the hero and heroine slew the brutal and foolish king between them and lived happily ever after. The touch of unreality about them and their deeds is due to the atmospheric effects of Fairy Land and exonerates them from mere human responsibility. Perhaps this is why, in considering the best illustrations for this version, one reverts so readily to the old vase-paintings. The people in these paintings are not subject to the common law or the moral code. Be it a funeral or a feast, an action deserving a vote of thanks or a gibbet, they go about it with the same archaic smile.

Iustinus gives us the sermon of a popular phrase-maker based on the details of a sensational scandal in high life as reported by one of our "great dailies," near enough to the original to escape a suit for libel, vulgar enough to please the average morning reader. The archives of several well-known journals contain appropriate illustrations.

With Herodotos the old tale of Gyges emerges as a great tragedy of Destiny, a parallel, in prose, to the Agamemnon and the Oidipus Tyrannos. All the characters are worthy of the situation. No one can blame Kandaules for a madness which the gods have sent upon him and which drives him to his doom—*χρῆν γὰρ Κανδαύλῃ γενέσθαι κακῶς*—as inexorably as it raises Gyges to his high estate, each in his own despite. So, too, the irresponsible sorceress of the old fairy tale, the vulgar assassin in Iustinus, becomes the evil genius of Kandaules. She vindicates her outraged womanhood and, law or no law, who shall deny the justice of her claim to remain the queen of Lydia with whatsoever mate she shall choose? But despite the simplicity and directness of the antique emotions it is a question whether this couple could "live happily ever after." Gyges undertakes his long task of royal power a sadder man and with no illusions. Nevertheless, there is room in his life for only one woman and he cannot doubt her.

If the results of this article are justified by the testimony presented, they are worth consideration merely for the light which they throw upon the methods of Herodotos himself.

One hardly knows which to esteem the more remarkable, his genius or his conservatism. The old tale of Gyges the Lydian was all but unchanged by him, yet under the spell of his surpassing art it rose once and for all to the beauty and dignity of a masterpiece. It is quite likely that its historical truth may be questioned. But for the most of us its historical truth is a matter of no serious concern. It is quite enough that the truth of it as a human document is immortal.¹

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¹ I have already stated my belief (p. 38r and n. 2) that the popular story as Herodotos and Plato knew it must have assumed final form in the time of Kroisos or as a result of contact with the Delphian tradition. It would be obviously then, if ever, that the folly of Kandaules, if not originally a part of the story, would be combined with the more ancient and simple tale of the ring. Moreover, the period as well as the source are against the supposition that the combination would have been effected by deleting the element of marvel. The point is, of course, important.

I ought to add that 'behind the open door' (p. 276, l. 14) is really not a correct translation of the Herodotean *δπισθε τῆς ἀνοικτομένης θύρης*. The door must be supposed to open *into* the room. The present participle adds a detail to the plot. It implies that Gyges must previously take such a position that the door, *as it opens*, shall swing back and conceal him.

II.—THE LITERARY FORM OF HORACE SERM. I 6

(AD MAECENATEM DE VITA SUA).

In the following remarks on the famous composition which I have named in my title, I would call the attention of fellow Horatian students to certain features of literary form and stylistic treatment which, if they have been observed by others, do not seem to be recorded in the exegetical literature of this poem. I have dragged out of well-merited obscurity the superscription of the pseudo-Acronian scholia (if I understand aright Hauthal's perplexing apparatus), because it contains a suggestion at least of the point of view which I would here present, viz., the encomiastic-biographical, or in this case rather the encomiastic-autobiographical. That, like so much of ancient biography (and autobiography), our poem is written with an apologetic tendency which leads to self-laudation, is sufficiently obvious, and Horace himself confesses to this in the disavowal of the vulgar apology for low birth in 92: *non sic me defendam*, and in the deprecatory words, *ut me collaudem*, in 70.

That which has, however, apparently been overlooked, is the fact that this encomiastic-apologetic tendency finds expression in a treatment of the subject matter and in a stylistic tone established by the literary usage of centuries, and inculcated by the precepts of literary theory. It is not my purpose to force Horace into a rhetorical strait-jacket: I would only record what is obviously present. For the composition yields, without constraint, a good illustration of the persistence of more or less definitely fixed canons for the treatment of a special type of subject-matter. The recognition of them will not greatly affect the interpretation of the satire in detail, but it will contribute in some degree to placing the modern reader in the position of the audience for whom the work was written, and it will be found to explain certain features of style which Horace does not often reveal elsewhere in his satires.

The motive for writing Horace states simply in verses 45-48:

Nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum,
quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum:
nunc, quia sim tibi, Maecenas, convictor, at olim,
quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.

It is the desire to meet the sneers of the jealous world by showing how little sting there was for him in the reproach *libertino patre natum*, and to confront the suggestion that his position with Maecenas was but a happy turn of the wheel of fortune. Plutarch remarks that to praise oneself is without censure if it be done in self-defense against attack,¹ and under this shield Horace may find justification. But the poet defends himself not in the spirit of apology, but rather in the tone of confident self-praise, the assurance of which he derives from the favor of Maecenas and his friends, and from the character of his father.

Apart from the digression in vss. 23 (*sed fulgente*) to 45 (*nunc ad me redeo*), which may here be passed over, the literary form, as disclosed in the points of view from which the argument is conducted, shows general observance of the theory and practice of encomiastic literature.² The topics of personal encomium are of course very numerous, and in the older theory (which Cicero, Quintilian and Theon preserve) they were not arranged in accordance with any hard and fast rules, such as the later Greek rhetoricians present. But it must always have been most natural that the topics which have to do with the different stages of life should follow in a certain sequence.³ The order which Hermogenes presents will suffice for illustration (Spengel, R. G. II, p. 12): *γένος, τροφή, ἀγωγή, φύσις ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, ἐπιτηδεύματα, πράξεις*. The topic *γένος* is naturally the first, and with this Horace begins:

I Non quia, Maecenas, Lydorum quidquid Etruscos
incoluit finis, nemo generosior est te,
nec quod avus tibi maternus fuit atque paternus,
olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarent,

¹ De se ipso citra invidiam laudando 4: αὐτὸν δ' ἐπαινεῖν ἀμέμπτως ἐστι, πρῶτον μὲν ἂν ἀπολογούμενος τοῦτο ποιῆς πρὸς διαβολὴν κτλ.

² A good illustration of the ancient attitude toward such details of rhetorical technique as are here involved is afforded by the words of Crassus in de Or. I 138: non negabo me ista omnium communia et contrita praecepta didicisse . . . (141) certos esse locos quibus in iudiciis uteremur . . . alios in deliberationibus . . . alios item in laudationibus, in quibus ad personarum dignitatem omnia referrentur.

³ Quintil. III 7, 15: namque alias aetatis gradus gestarumque rerum ordinem sequi speciosius fuit, ut in primis annis laudaretur indoles, tum disciplinae, etc.

- 5 ut plerique solent, naso suspendis adunco
ignotos, ut me libertino patre natum.
cum referre negas, quali sit quisque parente
natus, dum ingenuus, persuades hoc tibi vere,
ante potestatem Tulli atque ignobile regnum
10 multos saepe viros nullis maioribus ortos
et vixisse probos amplis et honoribus auctos;

His own birth obviously did not admit of simple encomiastic treatment, and he employs, therefore, the conventional resource with which the situation was met in the literature of this type. The two possible points of view are given by Quintilian (III 7, 10): ante hominem patria ac parentes maioresque erunt, quorum duplex tractatus est: aut enim respondisse nobilitati pulchrum erit aut humilius genus illustrasse factis. (Cf. Theon, Sp. II III, 27: ἐπαίverός τε καὶ εἰ τις ἐκ ταπεινῆς οἰκίας ὅν μέγας ἐγένετο.) It is of course the latter method of treatment¹ which Horace employs, basing his contention of the insignificance of birth not on his own authority but on the conviction of Maecenas (*cum referre negas, etc.*) Servius Tullius, as a type of man whose career illustrated the essential insignificance of birth, had doubtless seen long service in literature,² and the phraseology of Horace, *ante potestatem Tulli*, suggests an effort to win a little freshness from the trite example.

Passing over the considerable digression which grows out of this topic, we return to the words cited above, which contain the cause for the jealous criticism directed against Horace. He then continues:

- dissimile hoc illi est, quia non, ut forsit honorem
50 iure mihi invidet quivis, ita te quoque amicum,
praesertim cautum dignos adsumere, prava
ambitione procul. Felicem dicere non hoc
me possim, casu quod te sortitus amicum;
nulla etenim mihi te fors obtulit: optimus olim
55 Vergilius, post hunc Varius dixere quid essem.

In these words Horace takes up a familiar topic of encomiastic treatment—*felicitas* (τύχη), but not with the end of showing the gifts which fortune had bestowed upon him (as the encomiast of

¹ Cf. Epp. I 20, 22: ut quantum generi demas virtutibus addas.

² Cf. Livy IV 3, Seneca Rhet. Controv. I 6, 4 and VII 6, 18 (Albucius et philosophatus est: dixit neminem natura liberum esse neminem servum . . . rettulit Servium regem).

another might), but to show that the friendship with Maecenas rested upon the judgment of his own worth which Virgil and Varius, and Maecenas himself had made. The theorists of encomium reiterate that while goods of fortune may be named as sources of praise, yet the chief material of encomium are those things which are the result of one's own choice or volition. For example, Theon, l. c. 111, 17: ἥκιστα γὰρ ἐπαινοῦσι μὴ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἀλλ' ἐκ τύχης ἃ ἔχουσιν ἀγαθὰ. Horace then recounts the charming and simple story of his introduction to Maecenas and of his reception into the circle. In drawing the conclusion that he had won his place not by noble birth but by the worth of his character (*vita et pectore puro*) he claims for his own merit the praise of the honor conferred (cf. the pseudo-Acronian scholium on line 52: *neque casu aliquo neque beneficio fortunae factus sum tibi amicus, sed beneficio meo*). He adds further an element of praise to himself in naming the judgment of his friends Virgil and Varius, and especially that of Maecenas (*qui turpi secernis honestum*). Cf. Theon, l. c. 110, 25: δεῖ δὲ λαμβάνειν τὰς κρίσεις τῶν ἐνδόξων, and pseudo-Acro (ad vs. 47): *verae virtutis est et certi meriti Maecenatis iudicio comprobari*.

There follows then a passage of self-praise which carries out in more detail the assurance of essential worth which he has derived from Maecenas' approbation:

- 65 Atqui si vitiis mediocribus ac mea paucis
mendosa est natura, alioqui recta, velut si
egregio inspersos reprehendas corpore naevos,¹
si neque avaritiam neque sordes nec mala lustra
obiciet vere quisquam mihi, purus et insons,
70 ut me collaudem, si et vivo carus amicis.

These words set forth the topic which Hermogenes (as cited above, p. 389) designates as φύσις (cf. *natura* in 66) τῆς ψυχῆς, and Theon (l. c. 109, 29) τὰ περὶ ψυχὴν καὶ ἥθος. The offense of direct self-laudation Horace softens in various ways which may be illustrated by theoretical precepts. So Plutarch says that 'those who advance their own praises not as wholly cloudless and unalloyed, but with insertion of certain defects or failures or slight blemishes, deprive their mention of invidiousness.'² It is

¹ See note on this passage at the bottom of p. 399.

² De se ipso laud. 13: οὕτως ἐνιοὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐπαίνους μὴ παντελῶς λαμπροὺς μὴδ' ἀκράτους προσφέροντες, ἀλλὰ τινὰς ἐλλείψεις ἢ ἀποτενέξεις ἢ ἀμαρτίας ἐλαφρὰς ἐμβάλλοντες, ἀφαιροῦσι τὸ ἐπαχθὲς αὐτῶν.

such a form which Horace here uses (*atqui si vitiis mediocribus, etc.*). If we note further the contingent form of expression which is employed (*si*), the use of the deprecatory *ut me collaudem*, and finally that the merit which he thus modestly claims is referred to his father as its source,¹ we shall see that every resource has been employed to deprive self-praise of arrogance or offense.

The assignment to his father of whatever merit there might be in the qualities commemorated leads Horace, by natural transition, to describe the education (*ἀγωγή*) and training (*τροφή*) which he owed to him. The former topic precedes:

71 causa fuit pater his, qui macro pauper agello
noluit in Flavi ludum, me mittere
sed puerum est ausus Romam portare docendum, etc.

His training (*τροφή*) under the watchful care of his father himself (if it be right to separate this topic from the preceding²) then follows:

81 ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnis
circum doctores aderat. Quid multa? pudicum,
qui primus virtutis honos, servavit, etc.

The words *qui primus virtutis honos* are significant of the literary atmosphere of the whole composition. For as encomium, in the definition of Hermogenes (Sp. II 12, 5), *ψιλήν ἀρετῆς ἔχει μαρτυρίαν*, so its separate items are *τὰ καλὰ*—*honesta, honores* (cf. Cic. de Inv. II 159: est igitur in eo genere [i. e. honestum] omnis res una vi atque uno nomine amplexa *virtus*). Purity, therefore, the primary honor of that *virtus*, to the portrayal of which the whole composition looks, his father secured for him. The conclusion touches by suggestion the disinterested motives of the father in providing his son with such an education, and the passage concludes with the grateful outburst:

89 nil me paeniteat sanum patris huius

harking back to the introduction of this description, *causa fuit pater his*.

¹ On *pietas*, as imposing an obligation to commemorate the merits of others, or as here justifying self-praise, see The Proconsulate of Julius Agricola, pp. 6 and 7 (Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago, vol. VI).

² Cf. Epp. II 2, 41: *Romae nutriri mihi contigit atque doceri*.

The remainder of the poem is devoted to drawing the conclusions for Horace's own philosophy of life, tastes and daily occupations (*ἐπιτηδεύματα*) which have resulted from the possession of such a father. The manner is that of adoxographical, almost paradoxical (*demens iudicio volgi*), encomium, in that so far from apologizing for humble birth he finds in this the very foundation of his happiness and contentment. For the station to which it has assigned him enables him to lead a life freed from the constraints and cares which are incident to noble birth. The thought is carried out first negatively—

100 nam mihi continuo maior quaerenda foret res
atque salutandi plures, etc.,

and then positively, in the fascinating picture of his own daily life, which is the crowning charm of a composition rich in genuine and simple beauties.

The purpose of the topic *ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδεύματων* in encomium is to employ the characteristic occupations, interests or tastes of a man (*ποῖον ἐπετήδευσε βίον*, Hermog., ζῆλοι, Polybius, v. note) as an index of character. The meaning of the word is sometimes narrowed by the theorists too much,¹ but on the whole it pre-

¹Hermogenes, in adding to the explanation given above (*ποῖον ἐπετήδευσε βίον*) φιλόσοφον ἢ ῥητορικὸν ἢ στρατιωτικόν (l. c. 12, 18), means only to suggest characteristic tastes or pursuits. But Priscian, with some misconception of Hermogenes' meaning, translated: *postea laudabis a professionibus, id est quod officium professus est philosophum vel rhetoricum vel militare* (Keil, G. L. III, p. 436, 12). Cf. the Glossae Graeco-Latinae in Goetz, vol. II, p. 311, 55: *ἐπιτήδευμα institutum inceptum studium professio*, and the Thesaurus Gloss. emendat. s. v. *professio*. The definition of Menander is very good, though unfortunately Spengel has corrupted it by unjustifiable change: *ἐπιτηδεύματα εἰσιν ἀνεν ἀγώνων πράξεις ἡθικαί* (Spengel reads *ἀνεν ἀγώνων ἡθῆ*, III 372, 4). Any characteristic pursuit consists in acts. These may be of significance for the characterization of the actor (*πράξεις ἡθικαί*) and yet be wholly unimportant as deeds in themselves, i. e. *ἀνεν ἀγώνων*. Cf. Men., p. 384, 20: *ἐπιτηδεύματα γάρ ἐστιν ἐνδειξεις τοῦ ἡθους καὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀνεν πράξεων ἀγωνιστικῶν*. A general definition of *ἐπιτηδεύματα*, without reference to this use as a topic of encomium, is cited by Stephanus from Galen (Kühn, vol. XVII, pars I, p. 210, extr.), and it is worth giving in this connection. Hippocrates, in naming the resources of diagnosis, mentions *ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδεύματων* (Kühn, l. c., p. 204). Galen comments: *καλοῦσι δ' ἐπιτηδεύματα πάντα ὅσα πράττονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι διὰ χρεῖαν ἢ ἀνάγκην, εἴτε ναυτιλλόμενοι εἴτε γεωργοῦντες, ἢ οἰκοδομοῦντες τε καὶ τεκταινόμενοι, κνηγετοῦντες ἢ φιλογυμναστοῦντες, ὥς λούεσθαι πολλάκις ἐν ὕδασι θερμοῖς ἢ ψυχροῖς*. For ζῆλοι v. Polybius X 25, 2 and 4.

serves its classical significance. This meaning and the use made of the topic in encomium are well illustrated by Demosthenes, Olynth. III 32: ὅποι' ἅττα γὰρ ἂν τἀπιτηδεύματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἦ, τοιοῦτον ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ἔχειν. Thus the description of the sort of life which Horace leads (*haec est vita solutorum misera ambitione*) serves as evidence for the claim of worth and of absence of vulgar ambition which it is his purpose to establish. Recalling, finally, that similar evidence has been derived from his education and training, one may conclude with the words of the rhetorician Menander (Sp. III 420, 14): πιστώσῃ (τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς εὐφυΐαν) διὰ τριῶν κεφαλαίων τῶν ἐξῆς, λέγω δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀνατροφῆς καὶ τῆς παιδείας καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων.

The preceding analysis of the points of view (τόποι) from which Horace treats his life has shown general conformity to literary usage and precept for encomiastic composition. But there remain several further indications of encomiastic treatment to which attention may be called.

Encomium differs from objective narrative (historical or otherwise) in that it is not satisfied with the mere record of praiseworthy traits or deeds: for examples of conspicuous performance (πράξεις) or the record of other biographical items are not given for their own sake, but as indications of the *virtus* to which the whole presentation looks. This point of view is fully developed in the encomia of Isocrates (cf. Euag. 33: ῥάδιον ἐκ τούτων γνῶναι τὴν ἀρετὴν) and dominates the form throughout its whole subsequent history. Accordingly, at the end of each important episode or description, it is usual to find an outburst of praise in the form of an interpretative ἀξέσις, setting forth the significance of the situation which has just been narrated as evidence for the character of the subject of encomium. Cf. Doxopater, Walz II 412, 32: ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐγκωμίῳ οὐ μόνον τὰ προσόντα τινὶ καλὰ λέγομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις θαυμάζομεν. The manner will be readily recognized, but one or two examples will not, perhaps, be superfluous. Isocrates, de Bigis 28 (after a biographical narrative of the parentage of the younger Alcibiades) adds: ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι τῶν καλῶν κτλ., and Nepos, having described the character of Atticus' life at Athens, and the devotion of the Athenians to him, continues (3, 3): igitur illud munus fortunae . . . hoc specimen prudentiae quod, cum in eam se civitatem contulisset quae antiquitate humanitate doctrinaque praestaret omnes, unus ei fuit

carissimus. It is thus (and in a manner closely parallel to this last example) that Horace, after narrating the circumstances of his introduction to Maecenas and his consequent reception into his circle, adds:

62 magnum hoc ego duco
quod placui tibi qui turpi secernis honestum
non patre praeclaro sed vita ac pectore puro.

The ancient commentary which has come down under the name of Acro, with some ineptitude to be sure, and yet with a correct feeling for the encomiastic significance of this epilogue to the preceding narrative, comments upon *magnum*: gloriosum hoc mihi erat (gloriosum hoc ego existimo).

A similar interpretative comment, emphasizing the encomiastic value of a fact narrated, are the words *qui primus virtutis honos* in 83, which do not form an epilogue to the narrative, but are interwoven with it.¹ Again, the passage in which Horace speaks of his father's disinterested concern for his son's training (85) *nec timuit, etc.*, concludes:

87 at hoc nunc
laus illi debetur et a me gratia maior.

Finally, in the narrative of the life which his station makes possible, the encomiastic value of the description is emphasized, first by the syncritical comment of line 110:

hoc ego commodius quam tu, praeclare senator,

and more fully by the concluding lines which point the moral of the whole:

haec est
vita solutorum misera ambitione gravique ;
130 his me consolor victurum suavius ac si
quaestor avus pater atque meus patruusque fuisset.

A peculiarity of the style of this satire I had often felt before I discerned that it was the expression or, so to speak, the atmosphere of the literary genus to which the composition belongs. It can have escaped few attentive readers (although it does not seem to have been deemed worthy of comment) that

¹ It is a form of *amplificatio* which may be illustrated by the following (Sp. III 372, 19): αὐξήσεως γὰρ οἰκεῖον τὸ προσεκτικὸν ποιεῖν τὸν ἀκροατὴν καὶ ἐπιστρέφειν ὥστερ μεγίστων ἀκούειν μέλλοντα.

there is here an extraordinary piling up of the negative side of each subject or situation, before the presentation of the positive features which would suffice for simple narrative. For example (I italicize the first word of the positive antitheses):

- 1 non, quia Maecenas, etc. . . . nec, quod avus, etc.,
suspendis ignotos *cum* referre negas.
- 52 felicem dicere non hoc me possim, etc. . . . nulla
etenim mihi te fors obtulit: *optimus* olim, etc.
- 58 non ego me claro natum patre, non ego circum *sed*
quod eram, etc.
- 64 non patre praeclaro, *sed* vita et pectore puro
- 68 si neque avaritiam, etc. (*si*) *purus* et insons
- 72 noluit in Flavi ludum me mittere *sed* puerum est
ausus Romam portare, etc.
- 85 nec timuit neque ego essem questus: *at* hoc nunc
- 90 non sic me defendam: *longe* mea discrepat
istis et vox et ratio (which is then carried out in the
following sentence, *nam*, etc.).
- 99 nollem onus . . . portare molestum (which is then described
in 100) *nunc* mihi curto.
- 119 non sollicitus *ad quartam* iaceo.
- 124 non quo
- 127 non avide

That the accumulation of sentences of this kind is really remarkable and a distinctive feature of the style of this composition the reader may readily verify by comparison with other satires. That it is peculiar to encomiastic style would of course be saying too much, for it is obvious that the figure may for instance be employed in refutatory argument, as in the Lucretian lines:

non radii solis neque lucida tela diei
discutiant, *sed* naturae species ratioque.

But inasmuch as it throws strong emphasis on a positive assertion or description, with contrast of an opposing element, it lends itself readily to vigorous expression of praise or blame. For the

figure may of course be employed from the opposite point of view in invective or censure (*ψόγος*, the counterpart of *ἐγκώμιον*), as in the Horatian imprecation on *irae*:

non Dindymene, non adytis quatit,
etc.

'*Αναίρεσις* is the name which the Greek rhetoricians give to the figure, and the typical example which they cite are the great words of Demosthenes: οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὔτε πλίνθοις ἐγώ, ἀλλ' ἐὰν τὸν ἐμὸν τειχισμὸν θέλῃς μαθεῖν, εὐρήσεις ὄπλα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τόπους καὶ λιμένας, which Aristides quotes in the chapter *περὶ σεμνότητος*, with these words of explanation (Sp. II 466, 24): καὶ τὸ τὰ ἥττον ἐκτετιμημένα ἐκβάλλοντα καὶ ἀναιροῦντα ἀντεισάγειν τὰ μᾶλλον προτετιμημένα τῆς σεμνότητός ἐστιν.¹ The figure is named as one of the resources of encomiastic style by the rhetorician Apsines (Sp. I² 257, 20: ἐξ ἀναιρέσεως τὰ πολλὰ εἰσάγοντα) and—though for our examples it can scarcely be called significant or true—as a device by which the invidiousness of praise may be counteracted.²

From what has been said it is apparent that *ἀναίρεσις* always involves a comparison, and that brings us to another fundamental precept of the ancient theory of encomium; for, in the words of Hermogenes, *μερίστη ἐν τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις ἀφορμὴ ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν συγκρίσεων* (Sp. II 13, 3). *Σύγκρισις* is of course of much wider range than the stylistic figure of *ἀναίρεσις*, but it embraces the latter. I shall perhaps not be digressing too widely if I illustrate here, by a few typical examples from famous passages of encomium, the conjunction of these two marks of encomiastic style. A striking and admirable illustration is afforded by the praise of Italy in the second book of the *Georgics*:

136 sed neque Medorum silvae ditissima terra
nec pulcher Ganges atque auro turbidus Hermus
laudibus Italiae certent, non Bactra neque Indi
.
haec loca non tauri spirantes naribus ignem
invertere
nec galeis densisque virum seges horruit hastis:
sed gravidæ fruges et Bacchi Massicus umor
implevere;

¹Cf. Hermogenes π. *ιδέων* (Sp. II 307, 3) in the chapter *περὶ λαμπρότητος*: σχήματα λαμπρὰ ὅσα καὶ εὐεიდῇ, οἷον αἱ ἀναιρέσεις.

²The example from Demosthenes is cited in the same connection by Plutarch, *de se ipso laud.*, ch. 12.

and the positive praise of Italy which follows. It becomes negative once more at 151:

at rabidae tigres absunt et saeva leonum
semina, nec miseros fallunt aconita legentis,
nec rapit immensos orbis per humum neque tanto, etc.

Again, the encomium of Augustus in Aeneid VI 791:

hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis
Augustus Caesar, divi genus

801 nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit.

nec qui pampineis victor iuga flectit habenis
Liber, etc.

Finally, the exquisite passage in praise of the simple pleasures of true philosophy in Lucretius II 23:¹

neque natura ipsa requirit
si non aurea sunt iuvenum simulacra per aedes
.
nec domus argento fulget auroque renidet
nec citharae reboant laqueata aurataque tecta,
cum tamen inter se prostrati in gramine molli, etc.

To return, then, to our satire, we observe that each principal topic is carried out in the form of a syncrisis more or less fully developed. *τίμος*: The attitude of Maecenas toward lowly birth is contrasted with the sneers of others, not only by the negative form of expression (*non . . . suspendis*), but also by a phrase of direct comparison—*ut plerique solent*.² The negative form is reinforced in a similar manner in 90 below (*non ut magna pars*). *τύχη*: With the suggestion of mere luck, to which his position was attributed, is contrasted the discerning judgment of Maecenas (*κρίσις τῶν ἐνδόξων*). *ἄγωγή*: The contrast between the school

¹ The whole of this prooemium affords almost continuous illustration of syncrisis presented in the rhetorical figure of *ἀναίρεσις*. The prooemium to Book V (encomium of Epicurus) is a carefully wrought out syncrisis of another type, contrasting the merits of Epicurus, first with those of Ceres and Liber—*confer enim divina aliorum antiqua reperta* (13)—and then with those of Hercules (22): *Herculis antistare autem si facta putabis*.

² On the use of such expressions ([*non*] *ut plerique*, [*non*] *alius*, *ceteri*, etc.) in encomiastic and characterizing description, I have made some observations in *The Proconsulate of Julius Agricola*, esp. pp. 9, 12 and 15.

of Flavius and the best educational advantages which Rome afforded is continued further in the contrast, which the superlative *incorruptissimus custos* (81) implies, to the neglect which was common in protecting the school-boy from allurements to impurity (τροφή). The point is noted by the pseudo-Acronian scholium on *incorruptissimus*: ad comparationem aliorum.¹

The final topic, ἐπιτηδεύματα, is a more elaborated syncrisis than any of the preceding. The negative side sets forth the burdens of life which Horace must have borne in higher station (100), a description which develops into a picture of the cumbersome retinue with which he must have been attended whenever he ventured abroad. With this is contrasted the unconstraint of his life as it is in this respect (*nunc mihi curlo*). The two situations are concluded with the words which point the moral of the comparison:

110 hoc ego commodius quam tu praeclare senator
milibus atque aliis vivo.

To the proof for the generalizing words *milibus atque aliis* the poet then passes over in the further description of his daily life:

quacumque libido est
112 incedo solus, etc.

It is carried out in a series of descriptions, nearly all of which contain elements of syncrisis, either tacit or explicit,² with allusion to which the satire concludes:

130 his me consolor victurum suavius ac si
quaestor avus pater atque meus patruusque fuisset.

G. L. HENDRICKSON.

¹ Cf. Menander, l. c., p. 372, 21: τίθει δὲ καὶ σύγκρισιν ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ τῶν κεφαλαίων τούτων, ἀεὶ συγκρίνων φύσιν φύσει καὶ ἀνατροφὴν ἀνατροφῇ καὶ παιδείαν παιδείᾳ.

² The ἀναιρέσεις *non quo fraudatis immundus Natta lucernis* (124) was of course a shaft with barbed point for contemporary readers. Merely as a form of negative praise of *olivo*, it is obviously a trifle rancid.

[NOTE on vss. 65-67. Although irrelevant to my argument, I would use this opportunity to indicate a striking parallel to the not wholly pleasing comparison of vs. 67. It is the conclusion of a literary judgment on the περιήγησις of Dionysius (Bernhardy, p. 82, 13): εἰ δὲ τις ἐχει καὶ κῆρας βραχυτάτας (*atqui si vitiiis mediocribus ac mea paucis mendosa est natura*), καθά ποιν σῶμα καλὸν δοθεῖνός τις οὐ προφανεῖς τοῖς πολλοῖς ἢ λειχῆνας παρεμπεφυκῆτας οὐκ ἐν καιρίῳ (*velut si egregio inspersos reprehendas corpore naevos*), ἀφ' ὧν ἡκιστα τὸ πολὺ τοῦ κάλλους ἀχρειοῦται (*atqui recta*), σκεπτέσθωσαν οἱ περιέργοι].

III.—ON THE DATE OF PLINY'S PREFECTURE OF THE TREASURY OF SATURN.¹

The more important published articles on the life of Pliny the Younger, and on the chronological sequence of his letters, are well known—Masson's *Life*, printed at Amsterdam in 1709; Mommsen's great study in the third volume of *Hermes* (1868), reissued in a French translation in 1873; and the later articles that almost of necessity have Mommsen's work as their starting-point, and traverse to a greater or less extent his views, Stobbe in the thirtieth volume of the *Philologus* (1870), Gemoll in a doctor's dissertation of 1872, Peter in the thirty-second volume of the *Philologus* (1873), Asbach in the thirty-sixth volume of the *Rheinisches Museum* (1881), and Maximilian Schultz in a Berlin dissertation of 1899. Other articles might be cited, but these are the most significant. To them of course can be added various summary statements in histories of the time, or of literature, or in introductions to editions of some part of the letters: but almost all of these, if not quite all, have no independent value.

By Mommsen, and too often since his article was published, the treatment of the chronology of Pliny's life has been made to depend upon the preliminary establishment of the dates of his letters or books of letters. From this method of discussion I am able for the most part to steer clear in this article, though I must of necessity touch upon it at the close. If the chronological point at issue seems too minute for such extended discussion, I must plead in excuse my attraction to a method that consists in a careful attempt to determine not what an author may be twisted into meaning, but what he actually did mean; and in the purpose not to let any theory, however neat or brilliant, stand in the way of such determination. It would be a tedious task to attempt to cite at each step the writers whose views, perhaps not always strongly held, I may be controverting, and I trust I shall not be thought to treat them in cavalierish fashion if I refrain from wearying the reader's patience by too many such references.

¹A part of this article was read before the American Philological Association at its meeting in July, 1902.

That Pliny was prefect of the treasury of Saturn is stated by himself in more than one place (V. 14. 5; X. 3. 1; Pan. 92), and the office is mentioned in due order (next before the consulship) in the *cursus honorum* of the well-known inscription of Milan. It is the date of his entrance upon that prefecture that I wish first to determine, within as close limits as may be. For I need not remark, to those who interest themselves at all in the chronological questions connected with Pliny's life, that it is impossible to determine the date with absolute precision.

In Pan. 90 Pliny says, *diuus Nerua ut nos . . . promouere uellet*. In the next sentence he remarks (Pan. 91) that he and Cornutus had not yet served two years in their arduous and exalted office (*nondum biennium compleueramus in officio laboriosissimo et maximo*) when Trajan designated them for the consulship (*consulatum obtulisti*). In the next chapter we are told for the first time the name of this office to which Nerva "*nos promouere uoluit*", and which they were filling when named for the consulship, the prefecture of the treasury. That this treasury was that of Saturn is shown by the inscription above cited, to say nothing of other evidence.

Nerva, then, to translate literally the words Pliny uses, "wished to promote" him and Cornutus to the prefecture of Saturn's treasury. But does that phrase *ut nos promouere uellet* mean as well that Nerva carried out his desire or intention? I cannot deny that in a proper setting it is susceptible of such an implication, but such a setting is not found here. All, therefore, that is necessarily contained in the phrase is the statement that Nerva promised them, or designated them for, the office, and would have installed them in it had his life been sufficiently prolonged.

Let us now turn to two other passages in which Pliny speaks of his indebtedness for the promotion. In X. 3 he says, *me, domine, indulgentia uestra promouit ad praefecturam aerarii Saturni*; and again in X. 8 he speaks of that office as *delegati a uobis officii*. It is certain from the study of Pliny's style that he cannot be using the plural of the second person for the singular. Both *uos* and *uestra* must therefore refer to Nerva and Trajan. But Nerva alone at least nominated him for the office. In what sense, then, can both Nerva and Trajan be said to be responsible for the gift of the position? Some, assuming that the prefecture was actually entered upon during Nerva's lifetime, would say the plural means that the promotion was

the joint act of Nerva and Trajan as colleagues in the imperial power. Doubtless they were indeed colleagues in the imperial power to a certain extent, for Trajan as well as Nerva held the *imperium proconsulare* and the *tribunicia potestas*. But without entering further upon that question, it is sufficient to ask why the designation was not equally a joint official act. It certainly took place some months after the adoption of Trajan, as I shall later show. Why does not Pliny use *uos* also of that, and not merely *diuus Nerua*? There are no local circumstances or turns of language to suggest or to justify the inconsistency in expression. Evidently some other form of explanation must be found.

Mommsen is definitely of the belief (*Étude*, p. 64, n. 3) that Pliny entered upon the prefecture while Nerva was yet living,—that is, before January 27, 98,—and apparently bases his belief upon this use of *uos* and *uestra*, which, however, he explains by the declaration that Nerva inducted Pliny into his office, and Trajan upon his accession confirmed him therein: for, says Mommsen, upon the accession of a new emperor the various functionaries of the empire must be confirmed by him in their respective offices. On this point we must be allowed to differ with even so eminent an authority. In the first place, it would be difficult for him to prove so wide-reaching an assertion concerning the necessity of such a confirmation, nor can the *ipse dixit* suffice on a contested point like this. Indeed, I am not aware that he even makes such an assertion elsewhere, though I am writing at a distance from books, and my previous observation may be at fault. But Mommsen, with all his astounding sweep of knowledge, has yet a remarkable way occasionally of trusting his own idea of what ought to be, in the lack of actual evidence of what was. So he is prone to account for a fact by suggesting a possibility, then to advance that possibility the next minute to the rank of an actuality, and then to enunciate it as a general truth. Undoubtedly the princeps had very considerable powers in getting men out of office when he chose to do so. The official guillotine was invented before the times of Andrew Jackson. But the power of removal, by whatever means or on whatever theory exercised, is a very different thing from the right of confirmation. The immense body of offices of Roman administration was not vacated by the death of the princeps. The incumbents of such of them as were strictly public and not personal offices (and in this category

the prefecture of Saturn's treasury is to be reckoned) may in many or most instances have owed their posts to the favor of the emperor, but they were appointed after a constitutional manner, and were functionaries not of the emperor personally but of the state. A new emperor might be able to remove them, but there is no proof, and no indication in the nature of the principate, that they needed his confirmation in order to continue the exercise of their functions. Not in this sense, then, could Pliny say that he owed his prefecture to both Nerva and Trajan.

In what sense, then, could this be said? One other mode of explanation lies open, and that a perfectly simple and easy one. The date of designation for the prefecture may very well have been in the month of January, 98. Of this point I shall speak a little later. Nerva died shortly thereafter (on the 27th of January). What more natural than that Trajan carried out Nerva's nominations for the prefecture of the treasury precisely as he did those for the *suffect-consulships* of the year? And what more natural than that Pliny, speaking later of an office for which he had been nominated by one emperor, and into which he had accordingly been inducted by his successor (who was not constitutionally bound, however, to carry out the nominations of his predecessor), should join the two together in *uos* and *uestra* as those to whom he owed his advancement?

I hold, therefore, that Pliny was named by Nerva in January, 98, for the succession to the prefecture of the treasury, and that he actually entered upon that office after Trajan's accession,—that is, after January 27, 98.

But having established this *terminus post quem* let us pass on to consider the establishment of a *terminus ante quem*.

There are no indications of any definite calendar date on which the prefects of the treasury regularly entered upon their office, nor is it necessary from general considerations to suppose that there was any such uniform date of installation. On the other hand I am inclined to think that we may find in Pliny's own case, and in his words, some indication that the administration of the treasury passed from the hands of one pair of prefects into those of another at the convenience of the emperor and of the service, though this is by no means to be taken as an assertion that the term of prefects was confined within no usual limits. Of this matter also I shall speak later.

The determination of the date of Pliny's installation as prefect

may be approached, and indeed must be approached, from two different directions: We may trace the term of his immediate predecessors in office to its conclusion, and we may also follow backward certain chronological indications from the time when Pliny was designated consul. I purpose to take up these points in order.

The first of them is concerned with sundry determinations of date connected with the attempted impeachment of Publicius Certus, described by Pliny years after the event in the thirteenth letter of his ninth book. The incident occurred within the second consular nundinum of the year 97, and when that nundinum was considerably advanced,—perhaps as late as June or July (see my notes on IX. 13. 5 in *Selected Letters of the Younger Pliny*, London, 1903). Publicius Certus was at that time prefect of the treasury of Saturn with Vettius Proculus (IX. 13. 13), and was expecting (l. c.) speedy advancement to the consulship. He had been made prefect under Domitian, and Pliny demanded that under the best of emperors he should be forced to surrender the prize that he had won under the worst (IX. 13. 23). And Pliny says his demand was gratified, for *collega Certi consulatum, successorem Certus accepit*. Proculus therefore was designated consul at the expected time, which could not have been later than the following year. Now as Proculus was consul in 98, and Pliny and Cornutus were designated prefects probably in January, 98, they must have been the immediate successors of Proculus in that office. For from what I shall later point out concerning the usual length of term of the prefects, and concerning specifically the length of Pliny's term, there is no possibility that another pair of prefects could have been interpolated between Proculus with his (final) colleague and Pliny with Cornutus.

I may perhaps be allowed to remark that Mommsen believes that both Proculus and Certus continued in office from the time of the incident in the senate (which I have shown in another place to have occurred probably not later than about the middle of 97) till January, 98, when Proculus was nominated suffect-consul, and Certus passed over, Pliny and Cornutus immediately succeeding them in the prefecture. With this notion I am forced to disagree. It is at variance with Pliny's words, and with Pliny's lack of words, as well as with the general character of the case. The prize which Certus had gained under Domitian was surely the actual office which he then held, the prefecture,—itself a high and important

position. This prize Pliny demanded that he be forced to surrender,—for Pliny hoped to be able to convict Certus under the *lex Cornelia de sicariis et ueneficis* (Dig. XLVIII. 8, et al.), the penalty of which involved infamia and the consequent loss of office. Moreover *successorem accipere* is commonly used to denote removal from office before the expiration of the normal term (cf. e. g. Suet. Aug. 88; Spart. Hadr. 9. 4; 11. 2; 24. 7; Suet. Dom. 1; et al.). But what Pliny omits to say is quite as significant as what he says,—for if he had been the immediate successor of Certus in the prefecture, it appears impossible that he, who makes so much of the delirious dreams of Certus concerning his attack, should not comment also upon this dramatic fact. On general considerations moreover it would seem probable that if Nerva meant to inflict punishment upon Certus, even informally, he would not wait for more than half a year before doing so. Altogether then it appears certain that Certus was speedily removed from the prefecture, and a successor appointed, who served with Proculus till Pliny and Cornutus succeeded them.

But when did the term of Proculus end? Mommsen thinks on or immediately after the ninth day of January, 98, when Proculus was designated consul. Now that I am engaged in the critical consideration of this chronology I must remark that while it is possible that the nominations to suffect-consulships were made at this period on the ninth day of January of the year in which the consulship was held, it is by no means certain that this is the case. To be sure, the careful study of the manner of Pliny's utterance in Pan. 77 makes it appear probable, as Mommsen holds, that in the year 100 the *designatio* and *renuntiatio* of the suffect-consuls were made in the month of January, and earlier than the very end of that month. But the only authority that fixes January ninth as the precise day is the calendar of Polemius Siluius (C. I. L. I. 335), which asserts that on this day the suffect-consuls or praetors are designated. And this Calendar dates from the year 448 A. D., three centuries and a half after the period we are considering.

But the precise date of this particular *designatio* is not a very important matter. More important is it to determine when Proculus laid down the prefecture, and Pliny therefore succeeded. An important point to be made here is a warning against the mere assumption that the designation for the consulship involved

the immediate resignation of the prefecture, and that the designation for the prefecture involved the immediate entrance upon its duties. As regards this last matter, I have already shown that in Pliny's case the induction into the prefecture did not immediately follow his designation for it. As a necessary corollary, since Pliny was the successor of Proculus, the latter certainly held his prefecture for some time after his designation for the consulship. But how long? That cannot be precisely determined but an approximation to the date can be made by examining the chronological relation involved between Pliny's inauguration as consul and the conclusion of his term as prefect. To this consideration I now turn.

In Pan. 92 Pliny says, "How striking a fact is it that you exalted us to the consulship before relieving us of the prefecture of the treasury. Dignity was heaped upon dignity, nor was our lofty station continued merely, but duplicated, and our new honor, as if it disdained to succeed the former, anticipated it. So great confidence did you repose in our uprightness that you thought it only consistent with your own scrupulousness not to allow us to decline into the condition of private citizens after holding our exalted office." The "exalted office" to which he refers here can be only the prefecture, which he characterized in the same terms in the chapter immediately preceding this as well as elsewhere. There is no reason whatever, other than the insistence upon fidelity to a pet theory, for supposing, as Mommsen has done, that Pliny is looking ahead, and means that Trajan's purpose is to continue him and Cornutus in the prefecture of the treasury, so that they may not become private citizens after laying down the consulship (the "exalted office" being, in Mommsen's view, one moment the prefecture and the next the consulship). It is evident, then, from Pliny's words that ordinarily prefects of the treasury who were nominated to the consulship were relieved of their prefecture before actually entering upon their higher office. There was therefore a period, longer or shorter, during which they became only private senators, though consuls designate. It does not necessarily and always follow, however, that they were relieved of the prefecture very soon after their designation as consuls. There is no external evidence that such was the case, and there is no internal reason why it should be so. It would seem reasonable to relieve them from service in time so that the transfer of office could be made conveniently, and all

accounts adjusted, before the ex-prefects began their service as consuls; but for this a brief interval would suffice. Pliny entered upon the consulship in September, having been designated in the preceding January. If there were anything remarkable or unusual in his continuance in the prefecture for so long as eight months after his designation as consul, he, who makes so much in the ingenuity of his perfervid egotistic loyalty of every minute point of distinction, would certainly not fail to comment upon this. But his only remark is upon the fact that no interval elapsed between the two offices. In all probability, therefore, a prefect of the treasury designated consul ordinarily was continued in office until shortly before he actually entered upon the consulship.

Now let us apply this principle to the case of Proculus. If Gruter (1071. 4) is to be trusted, Vettius Proculus and P. Iulius Lupus were consuls in the month of December. Their term was, therefore, the last nundinum of 98. The length of the nundinum cannot be determined, but it was certainly as much as two months, and doubtless was not more than four months. Proculus therefore became consul at the latest on or about November first, and at the earliest on or about September first. In accordance with what has been said, there is no need for supposing that he laid down his prefecture more than, let us say, a month before he was installed in the consul's chair. Pliny and Cornutus would accordingly appear to have entered upon their prefecture somewhere in the neighborhood of August 1 or of October 1, of the year 98.

This conclusion has been reached by approaching the problem from the direction of the term of the predecessors of Pliny in the prefecture. But I have said that it is necessary also to approach it by reckoning backward from the time when Pliny was designated consul. These two lines of investigation should arrive at the same point, or at least the latter should not cut the former at an inconvenient or inconsistent point.

Pliny was designated consul in the month of January of the year 100. The manner of determining the month I have already mentioned. The year is determined by the statement (Pan. 60) that it was the year of Trajan's third consulship, and that is known to be 100 A. D. by a course of reasoning too long to be reviewed here, but convincing, and so far as I know, not doubted by any one. Now, as I have before remarked, in Pan. 91 Pliny says that he had not yet been two years prefect when he was designated

consul (nondum biennium compleueramus . . . cum . . . consulatum obtulisti). Just what does he mean by the phrase *nondum biennium compleueramus*? One of two things might be implied: the former, that nearly, though not quite, two years had been completed; the latter, that at least two years service was usually completed before nomination to the consulship. It is hardly likely that both these implications should be combined in the one statement, and this antecedent improbability becomes an impossibility when it is noted that Pliny goes on to emphasize the remarkable and exceptional grace of the emperor in offering the promotion without a much longer and more tedious waiting upon hope deferred. If two years were the term of service ordinarily required, and Pliny had nearly completed it, there would be no point, even with his tendency to extravagant rhetoric in the Panegyric, to the emphasis laid upon the unwonted speed of the promotion. We must conclude from his words, therefore, that two years of service was the understood minimum which must be spent in the intermediate office before eligibility for promotion to the consulship, and that ordinarily prefects had been compelled to wait a much longer time before they attained the coveted post. And this is seen to be quite consistent with other facts when we note that these prefects were always *praetorii*, and that two years was at this period the minimum time that must elapse between the conclusion of the year's service as *praetor* and the entry upon the consulship. There is indeed little indication that men at this period ever reached the consulship *suo anno* (as they used to say in Cicero's time), and the prefecture of the treasury was in itself such a high function that it might well console those who discharged it if they were detained therein for more than the theoretical minimum interval of two years.

Pliny means, then, and means only, that according to the minimum reckoning he might have counted upon the necessity of at least two years of service as prefect before nomination to the consulship, but he had not fulfilled even this theoretical minimum. There is therefore nothing in his statement to interfere with the conclusion before reached that his term as prefect of the treasury of Saturn probably began in August or in October of the year 98. And in the ground thus traversed I have covered all the evidence in point that has come under my observation. (I should perhaps remark that, as I have pointed out in my published notes on X. 8, that letter is of the year 99, and not of the year 98.)

I turn now, and more briefly, to the consideration of the concluding date of Pliny's prefecture, which Mommsen (*Étude*, p. 65) believes to have extended over a period of nearly four years, from January 98 till nearly the end of 101. I, on the other hand, think it more likely to have ended soon after his assumption of the consulship in September of the year 100. Let us remark first that nothing certain is known regarding what may be called the normal term of prefects of the treasury of Saturn. If what has been said may be regarded as establishing the probability that two years was the ordinary minimum term of service before nomination to the consulship, and that the prefecture, in the case of men advanced directly therefrom to the consulship, was ordinarily laid down only shortly before induction into the higher office, and finally that nominations to the suffect-consulships were made in January of the year in which the office was actually discharged, it is easy to see that a prefect advanced to the consulship under these rules with as brief an interval as possible between the two offices might have served in the prefecture as little as two years, or as much as four years lacking perhaps two months. For on the one hand he might have fulfilled his two years of service in December, in time to be duly nominated for an ordinary consulship to begin on the first day of January next succeeding; or on the other hand his two years of service might expire in January just after the nomination of suffect-consuls for that year, and he might have to wait in office for another year before nomination, and then perhaps till the last nundinum of the year, possibly November, for the actual consulship. Mathematically speaking, the mean between these two extremes is about three years; and there is a good chance that this was regarded as something like the normal term of prefects of Saturn's treasury, to be varied according to circumstances or the favor of the emperor. Indeed, it might be remarked in passing that the prefects of the two treasuries, the civil and military chests, were apparently regarded as colleagues, (see e. g. *Pl. Ep.* III. 4. 3), and the prefects of the military treasury served a normal term of three years under Augustus, and apparently for a long time afterward (*Dio C. LV.* 25. 2).

But whatever we may choose to regard as the normal term of prefects of Saturn's treasury, probable cause has already been shown for believing that they ordinarily laid down their office before assuming the consulship. Yet Pliny was made consul while

still prefect. Mommsen indeed asserts (*Étude*, p. 64) that Pliny states that he and Cornutus "continuèrent, même pendant leur consulat, à administrer le trésor", but therein he is in error. Pliny merely states (*Pan.* 92), as I have already pointed out but need again to emphasize, that at the time of entry upon the consulship he is still in office as prefect. He makes the most of the very unusual if not unprecedented plurality of his office, but he nowhere implies that he expects to continue long in the prefecture. Indeed, the implication is quite otherwise; for the point he particularly lays stress upon is not that he is expected to administer both offices at the same time, but merely that while others have been relieved from the one before taking up the other, he has been granted the unusual honor of entering upon the second while yet holding the first, and so of having no moment of interval in private station. From the face of his words, then, and from their patent implication, one would certainly be bound to consider it likely, in the lack of other evidence, that Pliny and Cornutus were not expected or expecting to hold another and an onerous office together with the consulship (a case perhaps without parallel), but were speedily relieved of their prefecture, which they had held thus long either, as Pliny affects to think, as an especial compliment from the emperor, or, as seems quite as likely to be the real fact, because some accidental circumstances had prevented their earlier relief.

I have thus, as I think, established my case, and fortunately without being compelled to enter upon the troublesome question of theory concerning the general chronology of Pliny's correspondence. But I cannot properly avoid mention of that topic at this point, since Mommsen holds that there is actual evidence in two particulars that Pliny was still prefect of the treasury of Saturn in the year 101. Both of these particulars are intimately connected with his great theory about the chronology of the letters. He believes, it will be remembered, that Pliny does not mean at all what he says in the first letter of the first book, where he states that the letters are not arranged in chronological order. Mommsen refuses to accept this statement in its plain and simple and reasonable meaning, and tries to prove that at least the earlier books individually, and the later books in groups, are arranged as chronologically distinct and progressive unities; and he tries to prove this on the scantiest of positive evidence, and with striking disregard of every point (and there are many of them)

that makes against his theory. Then he proceeds to investigate every date in Pliny's life after and in accordance with his determination of the dates of the several books of the letters. The general theory is a Procrustean bed into which every individual letter is made to fit willy-nilly. The method is striking, and the results reached sometimes appalling.

Mommsen's theory is an inexorable whole, and it falls completely to the ground unless he claims that all the letters of the third book date from the year 101, or possibly some of them from the year 102. At the date of two of these letters (III. 4, 9), which mention the prosecution of Caecilius Classicus, Pliny is evidently prefect of the treasury of Saturn (cf. III. 4. 2 with X. 8). Therefore to save his theory from collapse Mommsen attempts the impossible task of proving that there is no unreasonableness in the supposition that the case against Classicus was on the docket in 101; and accordingly he must also conclude that the term of Pliny as prefect was thus extraordinarily prolonged. The other particular of evidence cited by Mommsen is of still more dubious character, but of the same class. In III. 6 Pliny is detained in Rome by the duties of an official position (*officii ratio*). Since, says Mommsen, this, like all the other letters of the third book, must have been written in 101, and there is no other office possibly held by him at that time that was of an onerous character, it is another indication that Pliny was still prefect in 101.

It is evidently necessary to rebut these two pieces of evidence in order to make a complete case, though the evidence already advanced in chief appears to be perfectly conclusive. It is easy to point out the grave, and as I think it easy to see, unsurmountable difficulties that lie in the way of the assignment of the case against Classicus to the year 101. It appears improbable that Mommsen would so assign it, unless it were necessary under the support of his general theory. A more effective and still necessary method of rebuttal would yet remain, in showing the untenable character of Mommsen's theory in general. As I have just pointed out, his theory hangs so together that if undermined at any point it must inevitably fall as a whole. But a general rebuttal would prolong the present article far beyond the limits available in the *Journal*, and would be to repeat much that has already been done in the articles cited in the first paragraph. Whatever may be said in criticism of them on individual points,

they may be referred to as establishing completely the argument in rebuttal for the purposes of the case herewith presented.

I trust, therefore, that I have shown cause for believing that Pliny entered upon the prefecture of the treasury of Saturn in August or October, 98, and retired therefrom at about the expiration of the minimum term of two years, soon after his entry upon the consulship in September of the year 100.

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IV.—THE ABLATIVE ABSOLUTE IN LIVY.

II.

ABLATIVE ABSOLUTE FOLLOWING MAIN STATEMENT.

The ablative absolute is frequently placed after the main statement, about one in eighteen of the examples having that position. However, it must be observed that in these the proportion of present participles is larger than the average proportion, as they represent an action taking place at the same time as the main action, and so may follow as easily as precede the main verb, e. g. 22, 10, 9 *tum lectisternium per triduum habitum decemviris sacrorum curantibus*; 36, 23, 5 *nulla eos res aequae ac vigiliae conficiebant, Romanis succedentibus . . . labore urente*. Similar to these are 31 passages in which the names of consuls in the abl. abs. are postpositive. Sometimes the perfect participle follows when it is used with an intransitive verb, e. g. 1, 34, 2 *moritur uxore gravida relicta*. Of the other perfect participles at the end of the sentence, more than the usual proportion are causal, while occasionally they express a consequent or coincident action, e. g. 25, 34, 6 *compulsique intra vallum adempto rerum omnium usu*. There can be given no reason for most of the instances of this arrangement except the free handling of the ablative absolute by Livy, for most of them express an antecedent action, and this in some instances is indicated by a temporal particle as in 24, 2, 11 *arcem optimates tenebant praeparato ante ad talem casum perfugio*; 32, 25, 1 *civitas prodita est temptatis prius animis plebis*.

SYNTACTICAL EQUIVALENCE.

Whatever may have been the origin of the ablative absolute construction, in Livy it usually expresses temporal relations, and in general its use is parallel with the *cum* constructions. The frequency of occurrence, both in the speeches and in the narrative portions, depends on the recurrence of temporal notions. It is for this reason that these two portions of the work of Livy do

not differ in the use of the ablative absolute, for the moods of Livy the annalist are as varied as the moods of Livy speaking through historical characters. Of the entire number of examples, by far the larger part are purely temporal, and in the mass they are treated as such. The parts are frequently separated by temporal particles which may also precede, and also frequently follow, noticeably *deinde*, *extemplo*, *inde*, *simul*, *tandem*, *tum*, *tum demum* and *tum vero*, the same as with other temporal statements.

Not infrequently Livy views a past action from his own standpoint instead of that of the original actors, and the perfect participle has the force of an aorist. The same method is followed in dealing with the ablative absolute, and the perfect participle is used to represent a circumstance accompanying the main action, e. g. 40, 4, 4 parvis admodum relictis omnibus decessit. See Draeger 2, p. 794.

Apart from the examples expressing time, those with causal force occur most frequently, and in these the abl. abs. usually follows the main statement, as in 2, 41, 4 consul largitioni resistebat auctoribus patribus nec omni plebe adversante; 21, 56, 9 aut nihil sentire obstrepente pluvia, aut quia iam moveri nequibant . . . , sentire sese dissimularunt; 25, 15, 12 pedestre proelium fuit persegne paucis in prima acie pugnantis Romanis, Thurinis expectantibus magis quam adiuvantibus eventum. The instances are similar in which the abl. abs. precedes, e. g. 23, 29, 17 non tam victoria quam prohibito Hasdrubalis in Italiam transitu laetabantur.

The ablative absolute with concessive force, and sometimes followed by *tamen*, is found in a smaller number of passages: 1, 17, 9 hodie quoque . . . usurpatur idem ius vi adempta; 1, 51, 7; 2, 10, 11 desiluit multis superincidentibus telis incolumis ad suos tranavit; 2, 31, 5; 3, 26, 1; 3, 47, 2 quid prodesse, si incolumi urbe, quae capta ultima timeantur, liberis suis sint patienda; 3, 63, 8; 4, 38, 1; 4, 44, 10; 5, 12, 1; 5, 28, 11; 6, 21, 5; 7, 27, 4; 8, 15, 9; 9, 2, 13; 9, 42, 2; 21, 30, 5; 24, 4, 7; 33, 5, 4; 33, 34, 7; 33, 34, 10; 36, 29, 5 deductus ad regem nondum convivio dimisso; 39, 21, 9 quae causa numero aucto infirmiores eos fecerit. With conditional force the use of the ablative absolute is still more restricted, and in the few instances which may be cited there is not in all a clear differentiation of the conditional and the temporal: 1, 18, 5 inclinari opes ad Sabinos rege inde sumpto

videbantur; 2, 23, 15 censebat: uno aut altero adrepto quieturos alios; 3, 34, 7; 5, 11, 11 quia stare diutius respublica his manentibus in magistratu non posset; 5, 33, 1 expulso cive, quo manente, si quicquam humanorum certi est capi Roma non potuerit; 9, 4, 12; 37, 19, 3 quaero enim pace per te facta rediturusne extemplo in Italiam sis? 1, 58, 7 quid enim salvi est mulieri amissa pudicitia? may be taken as a general conditional statement rather than specific temporal, while 5, 54, 7 hic omnes propitii manentibus vobis dii, may be taken as dative or as a conditional absolute.

Sometimes the activity of one of two hostile parties is expressed by the absolute, which sets forth an action contrasted with that in the main statement: 3, 70, 3 pedites . . . pugnare haud segniter resistentibus Volscis; 4, 57, 7; 8, 12, 11; 23, 40, 10 diu pugnam ancipitem Poeni, Sardis . . . adsuētis, fecerunt; cf. 8, 38, 10 id aliquamdiu aequavit pugnam iam pridem desueto Samnite clamorem Romani exercitus pati; 24, 3, 9 optimates tenebant se, circumsedente cum Bruttiis eos etiam plebe sua; 27, 8, 10 tribuni . . . censuissent, ne ipso quidem contra tendente praetore. The result of the main action is also expressed by the absolute in 4, 10, 5 dederunt poenas vix nuntiis caedis relictis; 21, 37, 4 quadriduum circa rupem consumptum iumentis prope fame absumptis.

One of the best indications of Livy's freedom in the use of the ablative absolute is its frequent occurrence with particles, the entire expression being equal to a clause. These particles definitely indicate the syntactical equivalence of the ablative absolute, and their use with all forms of the participle is a good index of its increasing flexibility. For convenience in comparison we shall group the particles according to their meaning.

Conditional.—*Nisi* with the ablative absolute is comparatively quite frequent: 1, 36, 6 nisi auspicato; 1, 51, 7 n. gladiis deprehensis cetera vana existimaturi; 2, 24, 5; 4, 60, 4; 6, 1, 4; 6, 35, 1; 6, 37, 4 nisi imperio communicato numquam plebem in parte pari rei publicae fore; 7, 41, 4; 8, 12, 10; 9, 16, 3; 22, 55, 8; 24, 18, 11; 26, 21, 4; 27, 2, 12; 33, 12, 4 Philippo aut occiso aut regno pulso; 35, 45, 6; 37, 5, 2; 40, 26, 5 consules nisi confecto dilectu negare se ituros. It should be noted that all of these excepting the first 27, 2, 12 and 6, 1, 4 neque eum abdicare se dictatura nisi anno circumacto passi sunt, are in indirect discourse, and the last gives the thought of the people. This limitation may indicate that Livy regarded colloquial brevities as the sphere for its use.

Comparative.—The two examples of the use of *quam* cited by Draeger 2, 817: 24, 18, 12 ante quam bello confecto; and 8, 14, 6 prius quam aere soluto are in indirect statements, as are the conditional absolutes with *nisi*. *Ante quam* is also used in the same way 3, 51, 13; and *prius quam* 5, 7, 7.

Comparative Conditional.—The use of particles of this class is especially worthy of note, *quasi*, *tamquam*, *ut* and *velut* being used in this way. While the special force of these particles is not always the same, yet it is sufficiently so for a general comparison. Numerically considered it is largely a question of the use of *velut* for, in comparison with the number of instances of its use, the others do not frequently occur. *Quasi* is found 26, 21, 4 q. debellato. *Tamquam* occurs 2, 53, 2 t. Veiiis captis; 6, 14, 4 t. Gallis victoribus; 9, 6, 12 t. ferentibus adhuc cervicibus; 27, 9, 10 t. integra re; 27, 24, 6; 29, 2, 2; 45, 5, 10; 45, 30, 2; and with the abl. abs. of the future active participle, 30, 10, 10; and 36, 40, 1, the last two examples being similar to those in which the fut. part. is not in the ablative. *Ut* is used in half a dozen passages: 1, 54, 7 ut re imperfecta; 29, 32, 3 ut debellato (cf. 26, 21, 4 quasi d.; and 30, 8, 1 velut d.); three times with the perfect part., 24, 45, 11; 34, 39, 8; 34, 52, 11; and once with the present, 34, 39, 10 ut adiuvantibus ignem qui . . . opem ferre solent.

Velut is met with in 65 passages four times as often as all the others combined. While Livy's favorite, it does not differ in force from the others, for *quasi*, *ut* and *velut* are used with *debellato*; *ut* and *velut* (35, 36, 6; and 39, 34, 2) with *capta urbe* as is *utpote* 2, 33, 8, for at that stage of the proceedings the Romans had merely gained the outskirts of the city, and *utpote capta urbe* means 'as if it were really captured', or 'because it was captured, as they thought' . . . *Ut* in 1, 54, 7, and *tamquam* in 27, 9, 10 do not differ from *velut* in v. perfecta re 42, 16, 1; while in 29, 2, 2 hostico tamquam pacato is parallel to 24, 8, 15 v. pacato mari; and 34, 28, 3 v. pacato agro. *Velut* is also used with the dative, e. g. 2, 30, 13 v. stupentibus metu intulissent Romani; 6, 30, 4 quibus v. circumventis . . . dum praesidio ut essent; 30, 3, 1 omnibus tamen, v. eam sortitis, Africae cura erat.

Causal.—In addition to the instance of *utpote* quoted above, it is used 30, 10, 15 vana pleraque, utpote supino iactu, tela; and 36, 24, 11 utpote congregatis feminis puerisque et imbelli turba in arcem. *Quippe* is found in 3, 63, 2 iam pavidos q. fuso suae partis validiore cornu. It is used also with the dative agreeing

with a pronoun 8, 4, 5 *est quidem nobis hoc per se haud nimis amplum*, q. *concedentibus Romam caput Latio esse*; and with other forms of the part. 5, 14, 1 and 27, 39, 14.

Concessive.—*Quamquam* occurs between two contrasted ablatives 31, 41, 7 *sequente quamquam non probante Amynandro*; and *etsi* is used in the same way 42, 19, 3 *bello etsi non indicto tamen iam decreto*. Both words are found in contrasted statements with other forms (see Draeger 2, 817), and in one of the passages 4, 53, 1 *bellum Aequi parabant Volscis quamquam non publico consilio capessentibus arma, voluntariis mercede secutis*, by an easy shift, *quamquam* may be used with one of the participles.

CHANGE IN FORM OF EXPRESSION.

Livy's freedom in the use of the abl. abs. is shown by an occasional change in the form of expression where a succession of ablatives might be expected. Koeberlin has collected the numerous examples in which the abl. abs. of the participle is connected with some other form by copulative particles, e. g. 1, 29, 3 *deficiente consilio rogantesque alii alios*; 25, 35, 2 *deleto et . . . expectantes*; 28, 8, 12 *conlaudata . . . hortatusque*; 34, 49, 2 *tyrannum debilitatum ac totis prope viribus ad nocendum cuiquam ademptis*; 41, 26, 3 *signo proposito pugnae ac paucis adhortatus milites*. If *moenibus disiectis* in 24, 2, 9 *in vasta urbe lateque moenibus disiectis*, is taken as abl. abs., it should be added to K.'s list. Some of the examples, however, involve questions of textual reading, and in the last two quoted, a symmetrical construction with *adhortatus* in the ablative would hardly be admissible, as it is not in 31, 22, 3 *perfectis . . . profectus*; 31, 26, 9 *diviso . . . profectus*. There is also at times a change in the form of statement when there is no connective: 4, 9, 8 *pulsa plebs . . . armata ex urbe profecta colle quodam capto*; 21, 57, 2 *uno consule ad Ticinum victo, alterum ex Sicilia revocatum*; 24, 3, 8 *sed arx Crotonis una parte imminens mari, altera vergente in agrum*. All of these examples are illustrations of a striving for variety in expression, and this is also shown by the use of some other ablative, with the absolute construction, and of the absolute participle with some other admissible absolute form.

Different Ablatives.—1, 19, 3 *clausus fuit semel T. Manlio consule . . . iterum . . . ab imperatore Caesare*; 1, 49, 3 *neque populi iussu nec auctoribus patribus*; 2, 12, 4; 1, 31, 4 *seu voce*

caelesti ex Albano monte missa . . . seu haruspicum monitu; 2, 17, 4 cum ira maiore . . . tum viribus etiam auctis; 3, 57, 6 ut haud quoquam improbante, sic magno motu animorum; 8, 23, 1 magis Nolanis cogentibus quam voluntate Graecorum; (24, 22, 6 sicut regnante Hierone . . . ita post mortem eius.) 31, 39, 15 partim testudine facta . . . vadunt, p. brevi circuitu . . . deturbant; 34, 5, 3 sua sponte an nobis auctoribus.

Noun and Participle.—3, 50, 16 nullo dum certo duce nec satis audentibus singulis; 2, 41, 4 auctoribus patribus nec omni plebe adversante; 40, 14, 8 me auctore et sciente.

Adjective and Participle.—6, 9, 9 aversis eo hostibus et oppidanis iam pugnando fessis; 24, 26, 4 neque vivo Hieronymo . . . neque interfecto eo; 29, 16, 2 inopi aerario nec plebe . . . sufficiente; 40, 8, 17 vivo et spirante me.

SUBORDINATE ABLATIVES ABSOLUTE.

When there is a succession of ablatives absolute not expressing coincident actions, some form of a temporal clause might be used as a substitute in the series, e. g. 28, 31, 1 Laelius . . . auditis, quae acta Gadibus erant, . . . nuntiis ad Marcium missis, . . . Marcio adsentiente post paucos dies ambo Carthaginem rediere. In this *cum misisset* might be used for the second abl. abs., while in other passages *postquam* is admissible, e. g. 21, 25, 3 armis repente arreptis in eum ipsum agrum impetu facto . . . fecerunt; 23, 1, 4 impedimentis relictis, exercitu partito . . . iubet; 31, 26, 8 omissa oppugnatione urbis, diviso cum Philocle rursus exercitu . . . profectus; 40, 24, 6 mox coortis doloribus, relicto convivio cum in cubiculum recepisset sese. The last may also be taken as causal, as can most of the ablatives absolute which are subordinate to another: 1, 36, 2 reductis copiis datoque spatio Romanis; 1, 46, 1 conciliata prius voluntate plebis agro capto ex hostibus viritim diviso; 2, 55, 6 et praevalens ipse et adiuvantibus advocatis repulso lictore; 2, 64, 8 velut tacitis indutiis utrimque quiete sumpta; 6, 32, 4; 9, 40, 20; 33, 20, 4; 33, 20, 10 hoc nuntio accepto Rhodii dempto metu.

MODIFYING ABLATIVE ELEMENT.

The use with the ablative absolute of a modifying ablative element—participial, attributive, or appositional—is occasionally found, although similar combinations occur with other cases of the

participle as 4, 9, 8 *pulsa plebs armata ex urbe profecta . . . facit*; 26, 50, 11 *gratiam . . . redditae inviolatae virginis*; 24, 8, 18 *si stantibus vobis in acie armatis repente deligendi duo imperatores essent*; 35, 10, 9 *virum e civitate optimum iudicatum*; 30, 33, 10 *Mauros Numidasque Masinissae impotenti futuro dominatu terret*. The participle used in connection with the abl. abs., and taking the place of a relative clause is found 1, 14, 4 *iuventute armata immissa vastatur agri quod inter urbem ac Fidenas erat*; 1, 46, 1 *conciliata prius voluntate plebis agro capto ex hostibus viritim diviso ausus est ferre . . .*; 3, 33, 9 *defosso cadavere . . . invento*; 8, 12, 9 *bello infecto repente omisso consul . . . rediit*. For the use of the ablative of a noun in the predicate Weissenborn (*ad* 1, 27, 3 *Veientibus sociis consilii adsumptis*) cites 2, 58, 5; 4, 46, 11; 6, 39, 3; 8, 5, 3; 26, 40, 11; and 34, 33, 8. The following quotations will illustrate the use of an adjective in the same connection: 24, 47, 13 *decem ex eo numero iussis inermibus deduci ad se*; 27, 34, 3 *moderato et prudenti viro adiuncto conlega*; 29, 9, 8 *tribunis sontibus iudicatis*.

SUCCESION OF ABLATIVES ABSOLUTE.

The occurrence of two or more successive ablatives absolute is not infrequent. This in many instances furnishes a symmetrical aoristic approach to the main statement, especially when the place of the ablatives might be taken by subordinate clauses with the subject of the main statement as subject, a succession not less monotonous than that of the ablatives absolute. The tense, however, is sometimes varied, e. g. 1, 12, 10 *adnventibus ac vocantibus suis, favore multorum addito animo evadit*; 2, 10, 7 *parte pontis relicta, revocantibus qui rescindebant*; 28, 12, 13 *adiuvante Magone . . . , dilectibus . . . habitis*; 34, 50, 9 *prosequentibus cunctis . . . acclamantibus, salutatis dimissisque*. A succession of several perfects is not uncommon: 1, 47, 10 *non interregno, ut antea, inito, non comitiis habitis, non per suffragium populi, non auctoribus patribus*; 2, 11, 1; 2, 47, 10; 3, 3, 6; 5, 38, 1; 6, 31, 8; 10, 14, 7; 10, 37, 8 *bellis feliciter gestis, Samnio atque Etruria subactis, victoria et pace parta*; 21, 55, 1; 22, 1, 6; 26, 51, 2; 28, 46, 10; 29, 2, 2; 29, 14, 13; 29, 35, 4; 30, 5, 1; 31, 10, 3; 34, 8, 5; 37, 11, 4; 38, 42, 12; 41, 10, 5; 41, 28, 9; 43, 16, 13. Examples of the present participle repeated are not numerous: 6, 4, 6 *re publica inpensas adiuvante, et aedilibus velut*

publicum exigentibus opus et ipsis privatis . . . admonebat enim desiderium usus—festinantibus; 21, 8, 8; and with an adj. 27, 25, 1; 37, 12, 1 tutante . . . fessis . . . permittente. More than three are rare: 7, 32, 1; 30, 30, 14 transgressus in Africam, duobus hic exercitibus caesis, binis eadem hora captis simul incensisque castris, Syphace potentissimo rege capto, tot urbibus regni eius, tot nostri imperi ereptis, me . . . detraxisti; 37, 19, 7 temptata, evastatis . . . relicto . . . facto. With variation in form of expression: 44, 9, 6 cum alios decursu edidissent motus, quadrato agmine facto, scutis super capita densatis, stantibus primis, secundis summisioribus, tertiis magis et quartis, postremis etiam genu nixis, fastigatam . . . testudinem faciebant. 25, 28, 8 Hippocrate vero interempto, Epicyde intercluso ab Syracusis et praefectis eius occisis, Carthaginiensibus . . . pulsus, could be expressed by a mixture of active and passive clauses.

If the accumulation of ablatives absolute is to be criticised, still more so is a succession of ablatives of the perfect participle and of the gerundive. But as Livy keeps constantly in view variety in form of expression, the change in this respect, though unusual, is not more violent than a change in other ways. The following are examples of the mixture of participle and gerundive: 5, 27, 2 intermisso . . . trahendo . . . variatis; 28, 37, 1 classe adpulsa, mittendis legatis querendoque quod portae . . . clausae forent, purgantibus iis. In these as in 28, 31, 1 auditis quae . . . nuntiis . . . missis . . . adsentiente Marcio, a *cum* clause might have been used in place of an abl. abs., but the symmetrical sentence structure would have been lost.

CORRELATIVE AND CONTRASTED STATEMENTS.

An interesting feature in the handling of the ablative absolute by Livy is its use in correlative or contrasted statements which are introduced by a number of particles:

Non Modo . . . Sed Etiam.—The use of this formula in connection with the abl. abs. is comparatively frequent. Within the abl. abs.: 21, 55, 7 equis maxime non visu modo sed odore insolito territis; 27, 48, 3 omnibus copiis non itineris modo, sed ad conserendum extemplo proelium instructis armatisque; 34, 51, 1 deductis non Chalcide solum sed etiam ab Oreo et Eretria praesidiis; 45, 43, 1 haerente adhuc non in animis modo sed paene in oculis memoria. The sub-

jects correlated by the formula are used with a single participle: 4, 23, 4 non Veientibus solum exterritis metu similis excidii, sed etiam Faliscis; 5, 48, 7 postremo spe quoque iam, non solum cibo deficiente et . . . prope obruentibus infirmum corpus armis; 8, 4, 11 en ego ipse audiente non populo Romano modo senatuque sed Iove ipso; 10, 32, 6; 23, 42, 5; 24, 27, 2 non populari modo sed militari quoque turba, magna ex parte etiam perfugis . . . permixtis; 27, 48, 14 non hostibus modo sed etiam suis inopinantibus in dextrum hostium latus incurrit; 28, 36, 3 non aerario modo eorum sed etiam templis spoliatis; 33, 43, 6 suspectis non solum Antiocho et Aetolis, sed iam etiam Nabide; 37, 36, 5 non solum frenis, sed etiam iugo accepto. 36, 19, 6 multis in ipso itinere caesis captisque, non equis virisque tantum, sed etiam elephantis, quos capere non potuerant, interfectis. Cf. 34, 36, 4 vanis ut ad ceteram fidem sic ad secreta tegenda . . . ingeniis. The passages are less numerous in which there is a complete abl. abs. in each member of the formula: 5, 38, 6 non modo non temptato certamine sed ne clamore quidem reddito; 23, 46, 2 non duce solum adhortante sed Nolanis etiam per clamorem, favoris indicem, accedentibus ardorem pugnae; 29, 32, 3 nec praeda modo pecorum hominumque missa ad regem, sed copiis etiam, ut aliquanto maioribus quam pro reliquiis belli, remissis; 29, 35, 4; 30, 45, 2.

A parallel construction is not always maintained in the two parts: 5, 5, 3 non a cupiditate solum ulciscendi sed etiam necessitate imposita ex alieno praedandi; 21, 25, 7 non contra ius modo gentium, sed violata etiam, quae data in id tempus erat, fide; 40, 58, 4 neque enim imbre tantum effuso . . . sed fulmina etiam undique micabant.

An abl. abs. is worked into one member of the formula: 6, 2, 11 non aperuit solum incendio viam, sed flammis in castra tendentibus vapore etiam ac fumo . . . consternavit hostes; 31, 11, 8 non patrium modo recuperasset regnum, sed parte florentissima Syphacis finium adiecta etiam auxisset; 40, 31, 7 clamore non tantum ad ardorem excitandum pugnae sublato, sed etiam ut qui in montibus erant exaudirent.

Opposing Parties. (a) *Single Participle*.—1, 52, 3 Anco prius, patre deinde suo regnante; 6, 32, 11 nec Romanis satis instructis apparatu bellico ad moenia adgredienda nec illis ad subeundum pugnae casum; 21, 1, 3 Romanis indignantibus . . . Poenis; 27, 14, 2; 21, 57, 5; 21, 63, 15; 22, 46, 8 Romanis in meridiem, Poenis in

septemtrionem versis; 26, 39, 23 Romanis victoribus *terra, Tarentinis* mari; 29, 33, 4; 30, 8, 6 Numidis . . . Carthaginiensibus; 34, 9, 3 Hispanis prius, postremo et Graecis in civitatem Romanam adscitis; 34, 9, 4 aperto mari ab altera parte, ab altera Hispanis . . . obiectis; 34, 28, 4; 34, 62, 1; 38, 21, 4 Gallos loco adiuvante, Romanos varietate et copia telorum. With differentiation of the subject: 44, 35, 18 ibi in medio spectantibus utrimque ex vallo castrorum hinc *rege*, hinc consule cum suis legionibus pugnatum est.

(b) *Complete abl. abs. in both parts.*—4, 44, 2 hoc tribuno comitia quaestorum habente petentibusque inter aliquot plebeios filio Antisti tribuni plebis et fratre alterius tr. pl. Sexti Pompili; 4, 53, 1; 4, 53, 5 consulibus deos hominesque testantibus . . . Menenio contra vociferante; 5, 12, 1 Sergio . . . accusante, Verginio deprecante; 5, 29, 3; 5, 51, 3 Gallis . . . Romanis; 10, 18, 7 Appio abnuente . . . Volumnio adfirmante; 10, 24, 3; 21, 8, 8 Poeno . . . credente, Saguntinis . . . opponentibus, nec ullo pedem referente; 23, 3, 4 primoribus . . . territis, milite in vulgus laeto; 22, 7, 5; 24, 4, 7; 25, 37, 10; 28, 18, 3-4; 29, 9, 8; 31, 23, 8; 37, 37, 3 Iliensibus . . . praeferentibus et Romanis laetis; 38, 47, 11; 39, 31, 2 Hispanis recenti victoria ferocibus et insueta ignominia milite Romano incenso; 44, 24, 3 Attalo adiutore patrem suum oppressum; Eumene adiuvante et quadam ex parte etiam Philippo patre suo Antiochum oppugnatum; 45, 4, 7 nihil ea legatione perfectum est, Perseo regium nomen omni vi amplectente, Paulo, ut se suaeque omnia in fidem et clementiam populi Romani permetteret, tendente; 45, 13, 10 Pisanis querentibus . . . Lunensibus adfirmantibus. Similar to these: 29, 6, 2 principio ab Numidis facto et Brutiis non societate magis Punica quam suoapte ingenio congruentibus in eum morem.

(c) *aliis . . . aliis.*—4, 31, 3 signum aliis dari, receptui aliis cani iubentibus; 40, 58, 7 aliis redeundum, aliis penetrandum in Dardaniam censentibus; 37, 46, 10 aliis belli casibus, aliis morbo absumptis; 42, 44, 3 aliis ad regem trahentibus civitatem aliis ad Romanos. 22, 29, 3 caesis aliis, aliis circumspectantibus fugam; 27, 25, 3 aliis senatus consulto notantibus praefectum, quod . . . aliis praemia decernentibus, quod . . . mediis . . . dicentibus; 34, 54, 4 aliis tandem, quod multo ante debuerit, tributum existimantibus amplissimo ordini, aliis demptum ex dignitate populi, quidquid maiestati adiectum esset, interpretantibus; 34, 61, 12; 36, 10, 7; 37, 29, 4; 40, 54, 3 aliis expectantibus suam mortem, aliis ne ex-

pectantibus quidem. Cf. 27, 25, 1 defendente ipso . . . aliis infensis et plerisque aequantibus, though this may be in apposition with preceding coram Fabio; 4, 34, 4 singulis . . . ductis et . . . binis, aliis . . . venundatis; 23, 35, 1 fractis partis alterius viribus, alterius mollitis animis.

(d) *Partim . . . Partim.*—7, 4, 2 p. virgis caesis, . . . p. vinculis datis; 27, 14, 7 p. occulcatis, p. dissupatis terrore; 37, 5, 3 p. divendita, p. divisa praeda; 44, 40, 1 silentium fuit p. traductis in sententiam eius, p. verentibus nequiquam offendere in eo. Cf. 33, 11, 2 captivis . . . *partim* venum datis, *partim* militi concessis.

Correlative temporal and local particles are occasionally used with successive ablatives absolute:

Iam . . . Iam.—38, 5, 1 consul iam munimentis, quibus saepienda urbs erat, iam operibus, quae admoveere muris parabat, perfectis.

Modo . . . Modo.—4, 43, 8 m. prohibentibus tribunis . . . , m. interregem interpellantibus.

Nunc . . . Nunc.—38, 7, 10 n. ciliciis praetentis, n. foribus raptim obiectis.

Primum . . . Deinde.—5, 27, 10 concursu populi p. facto, d. a magistratibus de re nova vocato senatu; 21, 48, 5 missisque Hannibal p. Numidis, d. omni equitatu. Cf. 33, 21, 6 vixdum terminato cum Philippo bello, pace certe nondum perpetrata.

Simul . . . Simul.—23, 30, 11 maximus stirpis contempta s. senectute patris, s. post Cannensem cladem Romana societate ad Poenos defecit.

Tum . . . Tum.—4, 33, 3 tum dictator magistro equitum equitibusque, tum ex montibus Quinctio accito.

Alibi . . . Alibi.—31, 23, 5 a. sopitis custodibus, a. nullo custodiente.

Hinc . . . Illinc.—10, 31, 6 hinc ira stimulante adversus rebelantes totiens, illinc ab ultima iam dimicantibus spe; 34, 21, 5 anceps terror hinc muros ascendentibus Romanis, i. arce capta barbaros circumvasit.

Seu . . . Seu.—Instances of successive ablatives absolute containing *seu . . . seu* are not uncommon: 3, 8, 1 s. pace deum impetrata seu graviore tempore anni circumactio; 5, 46, 3 s. attonitis Gallis . . . s. religione motis; 5, 47, 2 s. vestigio notato . . . s. sua sponte animadverso . . . saxo; 10, 19, 13, cernentem s. pugnante s. quieto se fore collegae victoriam; 30, 25, 5; and with a different construction in the two parts 35, 38, 1 s. ipsi per se suspicati, s. indicata re.

Other forms of correlation are also used: 3, 55, 15 *ut invitis, ita non adversantibus patriciis*; 44, 1, 5 *sicut nulla re bellica memorabili gesta, ita ad cunctam militarem disciplinam ab effusa licentia formato milite*; 23, 15, 2 *Neapoli quoque sicut Nola omissa*; 33, 2, 9 *redit Boeotis quoque, sicut prius Achaeis, ad societatem adscitis*.

Successive negative statements containing ablatives absolute are met with occasionally: 4, 37, 8 *non subsidiis firmata acie, non equite apte locato concursus est*; 21, 54, 8 *eductis hominibus atque equis, non capto ante cibo, non ope ulla ad arcendum frigus adhibita*; 5, 40, 4, *nec prohibente ullo nec vocante*; 9, 2, 13 *nec hortante ullo nec imperante*; 32, 22, 9; 30, 14, 2 *nec consulto neque expectato Laelio*; 31, 2, 7 *profectus neque explorato circum, nec stationibus satis firmis . . . positus*.

The following are given as illustrations of the use of *quam* with contrasted statements: 22, 19, 11 *temptata verius pugna quam inita*; 23, 2, 4 *incolumi quam eversa republica*; 28, 43, 18 *Regulo capto quam Scipionibus occisis*; 1, 46, 9 *magis non prohibente Servio quam adprobante*.

As long as the ablative absolute did not embrace more than two parts unmodified, or at the most few modifiers, it could be maintained as a strictly absolute construction. But with the rhetorical expansion of the absolute, logical relationship at times prevailed over grammatical absoluteness, some part of the absolute group being taken up again or represented in other parts of the statement. The examples of this encroachment of the logical on the grammatical may be considered under three heads (a) Subject of main verb supplied from the abl. abs., (b) Noun in the abl. abs. repeated or an equivalent noun given, (c) Noun in abl. abs. represented by a pronoun in main clause.

(a) 22, 45, 5 *Varro . . . copias flumen traduxit sequente Paulo quia magis non probare quam adjuvare consilium poterat*.

(b) 42, 59, 8 *fluctuanti rege . . . ad regem accurrit*; 7, 36, 9 *orsusque meritas Decii laudes interfante ipso Decio*; 27, 48, 14 *non hostibus modo sed etiam suis inopinantibus in dextrum hostium latus incurrit*; 33, 39, 5 *a Philippo possessas Antiochus . . . averso Philippo . . . intercepisset*; 40, 27, 9 *indutiis datis, per ipsum indutiarum tempus . . . venissent*. The same word but differently applied occurs 5, 47, 4 *arreptis armis simul ad arma ceteros ciens vadit*. One of the nouns may include the other: 10, 45, 11 *sortientibus provincias consulibus Etruria Car-*

vilio evenit; 23, 9, 5 transgresso Volturnum Fabio . . . ambo consules rem gerebant. An equivalent may be used: 1, 39, 5 Servi Tulli . . . gravidam viro occiso uxorem; 38, 22, 3 primis forte deturbatis secundi tegant pulsos.

(c) Hartnick, "De Ablativis Absolutis qui enormiter usurpati vocantur", gives a general view of the usage in regard to the admission into the main statement of a personal or demonstrative pronoun referring to a preceding ablative absolute. Such examples merely illustrate the fact that at times completeness of logical statement requires the use of the pronoun. Draeger 2, 808 seqq. § 586, presents examples under five heads, and the same classification will be here followed.

1. The subject of the abl. abs. refers not to the finite verb but to a subordinate word: 30, 14, 8 cetera te ipsum tecum reputare quam me dicente erubescere malo; 37, 47, 2 is . . . ex facto se absente senatus consulto . . . colonos scripsit; 39, 53, 8 et alteram iam se vivo regiam esse indignabatur.

2. The pronominal subject is represented in the main clause by a possessive or demonstrative pronoun: 1, 48, 1 me vivo . . . in sede considerare mea; 27, 20, 12 nec de imperio eius abrogando absente ipso ageretur; 40, 8, 17 vivo et spirante me hereditatem meam . . . crevistis; 40, 11, 2 eum sibi te abdicato patre in locum tuum substituit; 42, 9, 4 postulare ut . . . supplicationem quam absente se . . . decernere debuerint . . . sui aliquo tamen respectu decernerent. Cf. 42, 13, 2 relicto meo regno . . . mare tantum traecissem; 10, 36, 8 nec vivo consule tuo nisi victor castra intrabis.

3. The absolute serves to fix the time more exactly: 3, 56, 9 suas leges quibus manentibus lator earum in vincla ducatur; 22, 29, 6; 24, 9, 9; 28, 10, 8; 38, 54, 1; 39, 40, 7 nec is tantum, cuius lingua vivo eo viguerit monumentum eloquentiae nullum exstet, vivit . . . eloquentia.

4. The subject of the abl. abs. is represented by a demonstrative in the main clause: 1, 28, 10 duabus admotis quadrigis in currus earum distentum inligat Mettium; 4, 51, 3 transacta re nequivere tamen consequi ut non aegerrime id plebs ferret; 8, 18, 8 matronis . . . accitis duae ex eis; 10, 35, 19; 10, 38, 12; 23, 6, 1; 25, 9, 13; 27, 5, 6; 29, 5, 8; 31, 46, 4; 32, 22, 10; 32, 38, 7; 34, 24, 5 cunctis increpantibus Aetolos responsurum se fuisse iis dixit; 42, 36, 7; 42, 67, 12 Thebani vexantibus eos Coronaeis in Boeotiam arcessebant.

5. The ablative absolute of the present participle is sometimes used when we should expect it to modify some dependent word, as in 42, 36, 9 *tribunos ad occupanda Dassaretiorum castella, ipsis accersentibus praesidia misit.* 22, 5, 1 *consul . . . impavidus turbatos ordines vertente se quoque ad dissonos clamores instruit,* where *vertentes* is also read.

SUMMARY.

The number of the ablatives absolute in Livy, as well as the variations in form of statement, makes this construction one of the most important elements in his style. To him is due an extension in the use of the abl. abs. of the future participle, of deponent verbs, and of the neuter singular of the perfect. Though we have taken as gerundives some possible absolute forms, yet either interpretation shows the freedom of Livy's usage. This is noticeable whether the abl. abs. is viewed from a grammatical or a rhetorical standpoint. Everywhere are seen the results of a striving for variety in statement. It may be seen in the change of the logical subject in successive absolutes, e. g. 21, 55, 11 *Hannibalis interim miles ignibus ante tentoria factis, oleoque per manipulos, ut mollirent artus, misso et cibo per otium capto;* and 40, 27, 9 *nunc fraudem hostium incusans, qui pace petita, indutiis datis . . . venissent;* in the omission of the subject; and in breaking away from the earlier solidarity of the ablative absolute. As an illustration of some of these points we take the formula *dis bene iuvantibus* and its equivalents, but without unduly emphasizing the question of the spelling or of the order of words: *Dis bene iuvantibus* is used 6, 23, 10; 7, 32, 17; 21, 21, 6; 21, 43, 7; 26, 36, 9; 42, 51, 1; 44, 38, 7. *Bene iuvantibus divis* occurs 31, 7, 14; *deis bene iuvantibus* 25, 38, 22; 28, 32, 12; 29, 24, 7; 29, 25, 13; *iuvantibus dis* 7, 10, 4; *dis iuvantibus* 35, 32, 10 d. i. et Aetolis sociis; *dis auctoribus* 7, 32, 15; *auctoribus dis* 9, 14, 4; *deis auc.* 10, 40, 5; 28, 28, 11; *dis volentibus* 37, 19, 5; and 39, 16, 11 *dis propitiis volentibusque;* 7, 26, 7 *praesentibus ac secundis dis.*

While the frequency of occurrence for the different decades is practically the same, yet the abl. abs. is not freely used in the more reflective portions, either in the speeches or in Livy's own narrative. A good illustration of this is the excursus 9, 17-19 in which there are very few examples, as the passage is to a considerable extent free from statements expressing time.

It would be interesting to compare with respect to the use of

the abl. abs. by the one and of the gen. abs. by the other, those passages in Livy which are evidently based on the statements of Polybius. But this would carry us beyond the scope of this article, for, though the usage of the two at times coincides, it generally is different, as Livy had in view not simply the presentation of facts as a mere annalist, but also the independent rhetorical presentation of the most polished grouping of words and constructions. This statement will apply equally well to those portions of the history in which the facts are derived from earlier annalists in whose works the ablative absolute must have been much more restricted than it is in Livy.

In the absence of a perfect active participle, the ablative of the perfect passive was pressed into service as a substitute, and in most places shows its substitutive character. It, of all the forms, is most freely used, but along with it are nouns and adjectives which are potentially active, present active participles, and the perfects of deponent verbs. With the presents the active meaning is retained in full force, the grammatical absoluteness of the statement in no way affecting the voice. The perfects of the intransitive deponents remain active, and that there is a change in the voice of the transitives is not a necessary assumption, as they may have remained active, as did the present participles. The neuter singular of some perfect passive participles in the abl. abs. assumed the function of adverbs, and finally became fully established as such. In the explanation of kindred absolute forms which are used with dependent constructions, and in fact of the great mass of the perfects in the abl. abs., it would be a comfortable working doctrine, if we could assume that these, through their assumed function, became at last active participles.

V.—BEGINNING OF THE GREEK DAY.

The statement of Varro that the Athenians reckoned the day from sunset to sunset has been questioned by Gustav Bilfinger, *Der bürgerliche Tag*, Stuttgart, 1888, but the result of his work has been rejected both by Mommsen, *Neuere Schriften ueber die attische Zeitrechnung*, Phil. LXI pp. 201 ff. and by Unger in his article on Chronologie in Mueller's *Handbuch d. klass. Altertums-Wissenschaft* I.² p. 715. In these places, however, are quoted from Homer, although Unger is to some extent striving for completeness, ("Wir fügen, weil gewöhnlich bloss die homerische Stelle [i. e. T 141] angeführt wird, einige Belege an") only the single passage T 141, and as far as I can judge from Mommsen's summary, Bilfinger—his work is unfortunately not accessible—referred to no other.¹ I am convinced, however, that there are in the Homeric poems a number of passages that must be interpreted on the basis of this method of reckoning the day, and the matter gains in importance because when such passages are interpreted on the basis of a day beginning with sunrise inconsistencies are brought into the poems, which are in turn used as a basis for the solution of the question of their composition. Thus Croiset, not realizing that for a Greek speaking before breakfast "yesterday" would include what we would call "night before last," finds the passage already cited at variance with the preceding books of the *Iliad* and says (*Hist. de la Litt. Grecque*, I p. 154): "Ce détail indique peut-être qu'au moment où la *Réconciliation* a été composée l'*Iliade* n'était pas encore complètement formée et que par suite la chronologie des événements n'y était pas fixée comme elle l'est aujourd'hui." Apparently he does not notice that this involves the further assumption of a plot entirely different from that of our *Iliad*, for *Embassy* and *Reconciliation* can be brought on ensuing night and morning only by means of some such hypothesis as that of Valeton, *Ad compositionem Iliadis*, Mnem. XXIII pp. 390-454,

¹ In Phil. LI. 20-22, Unger discusses also Ω 414, which, however, is concerned only with the natural day.

according to which the *Embassy* was successful and the *Reconciliation* brought about before the death of Patroclus, but which is rejected by Cauer, Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, 1902, p. 10, as violent and arbitrary. Consequently, unless one is willing to go to such an extreme, he must accept the conclusion of the scholiast, *φαίρεται οὖν εἰδὼς προὔποσσαν τὴν νύκτα τῆς ἡμέρας*, which brings this line into harmony with the plan of the *Iliad* as we now have it.

The chief difficulty that has been found in the account of Odysseus' stay among the Phaeacians arises from a similar misinterpretation of *αὔριον*. The difficulty may be stated in the words of Croiset, *op. cit.* p. 272 f. (cf. also Kirchhoff, *Die homerische Odyssee*, p. 211): "Tout d'abord le début même de ce récit, par certaines maladroites évidentes, trahit un raccord. Puis Alkinoos promet par deux fois à Ulysse de le faire reconduire chez lui le lendemain matin (VII, 189-191 et 318). Or en réalité Ulysse passera chez les Phéaciens toute la journée du lendemain à des jeux, il emploiera la nuit suivante en récits, et en définitive ne partira que le surlendemain soir, sans que ce retard s'explique d'aucune manière. Il paraît donc certain que cette partie du poème a dû être allongée." Now, without wishing to argue for the unity of composition of this part of the *Odyssey*, I wish to call attention to the fact that this difficulty disappears as soon as the day is reckoned from sunset to sunset. The first promise made to Odysseus by Alkinoos (η 189 ff.) is simply that on the following morning ἡῶθεν he will call the princes of the Phaeacians, hold feast and sacrifice, and then consider the question of Odysseus' return. Later, after the hero has made a more favorable impression, Alkinoos fixes the time of his return (l. 318) αὔριον ἐς without waiting to refer the matter to the council. Properly interpreted, this means that Odysseus shall pass the ensuing (natural) day in Scheria and shall be sent home sometime between the first and second sunsets. On the following night, however (i. e. before this time has elapsed), his identity is discovered, and Alkinoos asks that his guest will not hold him to his promise but will (λ 351) remain until the (Greek) to-morrow.

Note what follows. The feast goes on the next day:

ν 28:

ἀντὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς

πολλὰ πρὸς ἥλιον κεφαλὴν τρέπε παμφανώοντα,
δύναι ἐπειγόμενος· δὴ γὰρ μενέαινε νέεσθαι κτέ.

That is, the setting of the sun marks the beginning of a new day, the earliest moment at which Odysseus might claim that the time for his return had come. The objection may be raised that Odysseus made no such claim on the preceding evening at sunset, but the reason for this is to be found in the different forms of the two promises. Alkinoos' promise was to send Odysseus home on a certain day, and it would have been too great importunity on the part of Odysseus to demand that this promise be fulfilled the moment the day began. Such importunity on the part of an unknown stranger, even though he was evidently a man of worth, might very well have encountered a rebuff, and to urge such a request at the moment (*θ* 417) when the princes of the Phaeacians were bringing him gifts would have been to act with a tactlessness of which Odysseus could never have been guilty. On the following day the conditions were very different. He was known as a famous hero, he had promised to stay until a certain day, and the moment that that day came he had a right to rise and say, "I have kept my promise, the time for my departure has come."

In the other passages in the *Odyssey* in which *αὔριον* occurs (*α* 272, *σ* 23) it is used before sunset with reference to the ensuing (natural) day, so that the passages are not of service for the present question.

In the ninth book of the *Iliad* Achilles says:

I 357: *αὔριον ἱρὰ Διὶ ῥέξας καὶ πᾶσι θεοῖσι*
νηῆσας ἐν νῆας, ἐπὶν ἄλαδε προερύσσω
ῥψαι, αἱ κ' ἐθέλησθα καὶ αἱ κέν τοι τὰ μεμῆλη,
ἦρι μάλ' Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντα πλεούσας
νῆας ἐμάς.

Leaf in his translation connects *αὔριον* and *ῥέξας*. The same interpretation is implied by van Leeuwen's emendation, *νῆα ἐμὴν* for *νῆας ἐπὶν*. Even if this were correct, as *ἦρι μάλ(a)* must refer to the same time, it does not remove the difficulty, that Achilles is made to threaten, according to the usual interpretation, to perform sacrifice, launch and load his ships, and still start very early the next morning—a physical impossibility. As a matter of fact, *αὔριον* modifies *ῥψαι*, the meaning darting along the beginning of the lines *αὔριον . . . ῥψαι . . . ἦρι μάλ(a) . . . νῆας ἐμάς*. Achilles' threat, then, is (in our terminology) to spend the next day in preparation and sail early the following morning.

This is perfectly feasible and is not contradicted by line 682, where Odysseus reports that Achilles has threatened to make on the following morning the first preparation for his departure, the launching of his ships.

This view of the situation removes one very serious difficulty in the plot of the Iliad and, at first sight, seems to introduce another. The presence of Achilles in the Greek camp on the following day is at variance with his threat as usually interpreted, and it is generally assumed that during the Embassy he changed his intention, the change being subtly indicated in 601, 619, 650, although Odysseus in his report makes no allusion to such a change of purpose, and the staying of Phoenix with Achilles implies the contrary. When *αἶψα* is interpreted in accordance with Varro's statement this hypothesis of a change of purpose is no longer necessary,¹ and an examination of the three passages cited will show that they do not establish it, and so the plan of Achilles remains what Odysseus reports it to be. The trouble in 650 is that more meaning is read into *πρὶν* than is warranted. Cf. the literature cited in *An Epic Fragment from Oxyrhynchus*, A. J. P. XXII p. 66. Achilles simply says that he will not fight before Hector comes to the huts of the Myrmidons, without implying that this will ever happen or ever can happen, and so Odysseus understood him, though the suggestion of the idea leads Achilles' fiery spirit to develop its consequences. Line 619 is simply a polite way of telling Phoenix to drop the subject and the promise to discuss it again on the following morning *ἄμα δ' ἡοὶ φαινομένηφι* makes no difficulty when we remember that that time is twenty-four hours before the time of sailing. In line 601 Phoenix does seem to imply that Achilles will not leave. It may very well be that he is simply assuming the point he wishes to gain, but it must be remembered that this line is wound up with the Meleagros incident, which is one of, if not the latest, addition to the book, and it is possibly merely a thoughtless adaptation of what actually occurred.

The difficulty that my interpretation seems to raise is that if Achilles is not to sail on the following morning there is no reason why Phoenix should pass the night in his hut. In reply it might be urged that Phoenix is generally considered an intruder, and

¹ The threat is purposely so worded as to leave time on the next day for the intervention of Patroclus and its fatal consequences. That is the author of this book had before him the nucleus, at least, of the Patrocleia.

that the lack of skill shown in getting him off the scene is simply another indication of this fact. But when attention is once drawn to the absurdity of Phoenix's staying in the hut of Achilles in order to be ready to start with him thirty-six hours later—his action always involved his starting without bag or baggage—suspicion is directed towards ll. 427 ff. = 690 ff., and as both the speeches of Achilles and Odysseus clearly gain by the removal of the concluding lines, I was led by the absurdity of the way in which Phoenix is forced to remain in the hut of Achilles to the hypothesis that in the original version of the *Embassy* he was not one of Agamemnon's envoys, but present as an attendant of Achilles.

After I had already satisfied myself that this hypothesis would account for the difficulties connected with Phoenix and was preferable to the general and more radical view, that Phoenix was an entire stranger to the original version of the *Embassy*, I learned from Bursian's *Jahresb.*, 1902, p. 14, that a similar hypothesis had already been advocated by J. Schultz, *Zur Ilias-Kritik*, Berlin, 1900 (unfortunately inaccessible), in such a way as to gain the approbation of Cauer. I will therefore merely state briefly what seem to me the merits of this hypothesis. It seems impossible to believe that the author of the speeches of Odysseus and Achilles could have been so poor in invention as to attempt no reply to Achilles except Ajax's abandonment of the situation. Equally impossible is it to imagine anything more appropriate than Phoenix's speech (less the Meleagros incident, 523-602) and Achilles' reply, especially when we consider how Phoenix's speech gains in effectiveness as coming not from an envoy of Agamemnon but from a comrade of Achilles, and how well its tone and the tone of Achilles' reply are adapted to this view. Finally, the alterations necessary to restore this condition are in part the same as those usually proposed in part much less radical. In the first place, 168 must be expunged and the beginning of 169 remodelled as on the usual hypothesis. This does away with the difficulty caused by the presence of Phoenix in the council and justifies the use of the dual in 182-98. In 223 the name of Phoenix, as Leaf remarks, "has been awkwardly dragged in to remind us of his existence"; the line may be rewritten, as Leaf suggests:

νεῦσ' Ἀλας Ὀδυσῆϊ· ὁ δὲ φρεσὶν ἦν νοήσας,

or more simply:

νεῦσ' Ἀλας σιγῇ· ἐνόησε δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.

Then, instead of having to abandon, as Leaf at 168 does, the whole episode, 432-622 (other parts, e. g. 427-9 = 690 ff., would have to go with it) we have only to reject 427-9, then in 432-3 we find Phoenix suitably introduced and the motif for his speech given. Then all runs smooth (apart from the Meleagros story) until we come to 617-8, out of which must be made one line:

οὔτοι δ' ἀγγέλουσ'· ἅμα δ' ἡοὶ φαινομένηφι,

and in 621 some such word as *δτραλέως* is to be substituted for *Φοίνικι*, Achilles' hint becoming much more pointed. The same change is to be made in 659, and 662 is to be expunged, with alteration of the beginning of the next line, unless this whole section is a later addition, and finally 690 ff. = 427 ff. are to be removed. All these passages refer to Phoenix's night's rest and have to go according to the usual view. The cause of these alterations is not far to seek. Some one misunderstanding 190 f., and believing that only an envoy of Agamemnon would speak for Agamemnon, proceeded to make Phoenix an envoy; then, not wishing to separate him from Achilles and taking the hint from 437, hit upon the idea of putting him to bed in order that he might be ready to return with Achilles. The expedient was in truth a stupid one, but not worse than others in the *Odyssey* that have been pointed out by Kirchhoff. The narrative as it now stands is impossible, and the above hypothesis seems to me better than the entire rejection of everything relating to Phoenix. In either case, however, no objection from this source can be made to the interpretation of *αἴριον* in 357 that I have proposed.

To these four passages in which *χθιζός* and *αἴριον* clearly imply that the day is reckoned from sunset to sunset must be added the fact that in a number of other cases where, speaking after sunset, one wishes to refer to the ensuing morning *αἴριον* is not used but *ἡῶθεν* H 372, Ψ 49, Ω 401. α 372, γ 366, δ 214, η 189, μ 293, ξ 512, ο 308, τ 320; *ἡῶθε* πρό ζ 36; *ἡοῦς* Θ 470, 525 (cf. Leaf's note, however); *μέσφ' ἡοῦς* Θ 508; *ἄμ' ἡοῖ* H 331; *ἄμ' ἡοὶ φαινομένηφι* I 618, 682, Ω 600, ζ 31, η 222, ο 396, π 270. It is hardly necessary to add that the fact that these phrases are also used (Σ 136, ο 506, ρ 600, σ 248, φ 265, 280, δ 407, μ 24) before sunset does

not weaken the force of the argument. These words simply mean in "the morning", and the idea of futurity in the context specializes this meaning to "the coming morning" without implying whether that belongs to "to-day" or "to-morrow." The point is that in these twenty-three passages we might say "to-morrow," but the Greek has said "in the morning," presumably because *αὔριον* would have meant a different thing.

There remain for consideration three passages in which *αὔριον* is used after sunset with reference to the ensuing day. The material already examined is in my opinion sufficient to show that such an use must be the result of the unthinking approximation of originally diverse materials, and an examination of these passages will sustain this conclusion. Two of the examples are Θ 535 and 538. The whole of this book is a mosaic, and no part betrays this origin more clearly than this closing part of Hector's speech, cf. Leaf at 524. The instance in 538 is not even textually certain, as Nauck's conjecture *οὐρανόν* is attractive, while 535 was omitted by Zenodotos, and Aristarchus considered 535-7 an inferior parallel to 538-41. Under these circumstances there can be little doubt that the lines were adapted from a source in which *αὔριον* had its proper meaning. It may be noted that line 541 as it stands serves to confirm the theory that the day began with sunset. The criticism directed against it is practically 'Hector says "to-day" and means "to-morrow":' but in this case our "to-morrow" is the Greek "to-day." The line, however, seems taken from N 828, in which context it throws no light upon the subject.

That two out of three apparent exceptions stand in such a context must serve to cast suspicion on the third, Σ 269. The passage is not improbably a late working out of a suggestion in X 100-104, cf. Croiset, op. cit., p. 151, and it may be that this is simply the result of unskilful adaptation of material composed for another context. If a more definite suggestion is desired, Polydamas' speech would be satisfactory if made before sunset, and it may have been that originally the battle was terminated simply by the appearance of Achilles. Hera's making the sun set after the consternation that Achilles had caused seems rather an act of supererogation—not to mention that her interference after the events of the afternoon and the submissiveness of the sungod are both surprising—and served, according to Polydamas, only to impede Achilles and to give the Trojans time to save

themselves by flight. The words *νῦν μὲν νύξ ἀπέπαυσε ποδάρεα Πηλείωνα* may have been added to Polydamas' speech after the account of the setting of the sun had been inserted, or they may have meant originally only that night was so near that Achilles did not begin a counter attack for that reason, and themselves have been the cause of the insertion.

In view of these facts I think the conclusion is warranted that throughout the time of the composition of the Homeric poems the day was reckoned, as Varro says the Athenians reckoned it, from sunset to sunset, and that the only passages which seem to imply another mode of reckoning are all the result of the thoughtless adaptation of phrases from a context in which they must have been rightly employed.

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VI.—NOTES ON THE CATO MAIOR.

§28. *Orator metuo ne languescat ... Omnino canorum illud ... sed tamen est decorus*, etc.

This difficult passage for the interpreter has been much discussed of late, as by Knapp in Proceedings of the American Philological Association, 1898, p. v., and Classical Review, 1900 (XIV), p. 214; Barendt, *ib.* 1899 (XIII), p. 402, and 1900 (XIV), p. 356.

Knapp endeavors to escape from the stereotyped correlation of *omnino* with *sed*, or *sed tamen*, by making *Omnino*, etc. refer back to the *occupatio* (*Orator metuo*, etc.).

Barendt, along with Hennings, Deiter, and Sommerbrodt, would resort to emendation of *splendescit*.

Meissner³, *Anh.* p. 65, classes this *refutatio* as of that form which begins with a concession (*Omnino*, etc.), but the thing conceded is neither the thing charged, nor yet a similar or related accusation, as in his other examples (§§ 8, 21, 47, 65). It is, in fact, no accusation at all, although Knapp too speaks of *canorum illud in voce splendescit*, etc. as a "derogatory statement" (PAPA l. c., p. v.). Quite the contrary, it is something which *might* be said in favor of old age, that it brings with it an increase in a certain quality to which *canorum* refers,—a quality which Cato even in extreme age has not lost again (*quod equidem adhuc non amisi, et videtis annos*).

But what is *canorum illud*? It is a well-known fact that a high pitch was especially admired by the ancients. Here then we may have *canorum* not in its usual sense, with reference to musical quality in general (as in *profluens quiddam ... et canorum* of *de Orat.* iii. 28; cf. *Tac. Ann.* iv. 61; or in *voce suavi et canora* of *Brutus*, 234), but of *pitch* alone, the one respect in which age brings what ancient taste regarded as an improvement. No editor, so far as the writer knows, has proposed to take *canorum illud in voce* as equivalent to *acutum vocis genus*, or *vox acuta*; but the explanation¹ would seem to be in itself rational, and at the same time to relieve the

¹ For this suggestion I am fraternally indebted to Professor George F. Moore, of Harvard University.

difficulty which has tempted some to distort *Omnino*, and others to emend *splendescit*.

For we may thus discover, perhaps, the true relation of the contrasted statements which combine to form the refutation. In meeting the anticipated charge that oratorical powers decline with years, Cato might simply insist upon the higher pitch acquired with age. But this was obviously a partial compensation only, of quite insufficient weight as an argument. He therefore abandons this line of defence for something stronger, *sed tamen*, etc. The relation then of the *Omnino*-sentence to *sed tamen*, etc. is that of partial, or possible, answer, to more complete refutation; and *Omnino*, etc. may be translated "*I might, no doubt, reply that,*" etc. In German or English, surely, it is common enough to give first with an „*allerdings*” or “*to be sure*”, a point which *might* be insisted upon, but which the speaker prefers to pass by in favor of a sounder argument.

§20. *Sic enim percontantur † ut est in Naevi poetae Ludo* (Müller).

In this well-known *crux criticorum* of the Cato Maior the corruption in *ut est* is obvious; that the corruption also involves the name of the play has been assumed by Halm, Ribbeck and others; that the word *poetae* is in itself suspicious, quite apart from the question of MS authority, appears not to have been hitherto suggested. The purpose of this note is to propose an emendation for the first, to throw some new light, if possible, upon the second, and to weigh and reject certain reasons for doubting the genuineness of the third.

(1) *ut est* L³PHM*BESRIP^b Bourb., Colb., Admont.; *ut* (without *est*) L¹AVvP^aV¹.

Müller obelizes *ut est*; Mommsen and Deiter omit these words, conjecturing *percontantibus* and *percontanti* respectively for *percontantur* (cf. *Philologus*, XLVI, 174). Reid, Schiche, Bennett, Egbert simply omit *ut est*, while Meissner resorts to brackets. Kornitzer and Rockwood follow Mommsen; Anz follows Deiter, but alters *enim* to *senem*; Schiche-Ramorino agree with Müller; Sommerbrodt¹² emended to *illi*, after Brieger.

Looking at the passage as a whole, it is difficult to resist the conviction that, were the text intact, we should have the name

* By M is meant the best of the Laurentian MSS, collated (as Ma) by Ramorino (*Rivista di Filologia*, XV, 247 ff.). P^aP^bV¹ are among Dahl's *Parisini deteriores*.

of that foreign city to which Naevius' lines relate. Sparta has just been mentioned, and it is scarcely credible that *externa* (in *Quodsi legere-aut audire voletis externa*) was left indefinite. That such a name may lurk in *ut est* of our extant MSS, does not seem to have occurred to the editors. An Italian city it must have been, since Naevius furnishes the quotation from an unmistakable *praetexta*.

The change of government brought about by the specious oratory of the *stulti adolescentuli* cannot have been from kingdom to aristocracy or democracy; for Cato (Cicero) would have regarded the expulsion of a king as praiseworthy. Clearly the change was in the opposite direction, and most likely the restoration of monarchy. But this is precisely the situation which Livy describes at Veii in v. 1. 3: *Veientes contra taedio annuae ambitionis, quae interdum discordiarum causa erat, regem creavere*. However we may discount Livy's knowledge of the actual conditions in Veii, a play of Naevius, dealing with the period of the siege, would not be historically more accurate.

For *ut est* then we may conjecture *Veientes*. Following the quoted enquiry the subject of *percontantur* was most naturally omitted, so that no ambiguity could arise from the insertion of a personal object. By abbreviation, and possibly the assumption of a *rasura*, it would not be difficult, palaeographically speaking, for *Veientes* to be corrupted into *ut est*, especially in uncial letters. The further omission of *est* in other MSS is an awkward correction.

It would be strange if Naevius had not dealt in more than one of his plays with Veii and its tragic fate, and the prominence the city must have had in the *Origines* of Cato would be a further reason to Cicero for this particular quotation. A drama (*praetexta*) on such a subject was perhaps as a rule named from the city in question; so the *Clastidium* of Naevius and the *Ambracia* of Ennius. But the known examples are too few to establish a general rule. The *Sabinae* of Ennius shows the use of a national name where it would at once suggest a dramatic event.

(2) *Ludo* (*ludo*) LAHBIRSP^b Bourb., Colb., Boist., Admont.; also PV in marg.; *libro* PVvMEP^aVⁱ (with *posteriore(i)* for *poetae*, except in the case of P^aVⁱ).

For *Ludo* Ribbeck conjectured *Lupo*, bringing this quotation into dubious relation to a fragment of Naevius preserved in a sad state in the sole extant MS of Festus (badly damaged by fire).

Out of the merest wreck,—*Naevius* † in *Lupo*: “*Vel † Veiens regem salutant iubae † Albanum mulium † comitem † senem sapientem, contra redhostis Menalus †*” (C. O. Müller, p. 270)—the industry of editors has given us these lines:

Rex Veiens regem salutat Vibe Albanum Amulium
Cómiler seném sapientem. Contra redhostis?—Mín salus?

(Ribbeck, *Trag. Rom. Fragm.*³ p. 322; Merry, p. 20). Thus Ribbeck and those who follow him accept *Veii* as the city from whose experience a lesson is drawn, but make the reference to the exile of its king in the age of Romulus.

In view of the state of Festus' text, and the lack of certainty that the citation is after all from Naevius, too much weight should not be given to *Lupo* as against so many MSS of the Cato with *ludo*; admitting, as one must, that the palaeographer will find *lupo* nearer to *libro* than is *ludo*.

It is perhaps improbable, but not impossible, that Naevius had two plays with names so similar as *Lupus*¹ and *Ludus* (i. e. *Lydus*, *The Etruscan*). Certainly Etruscan, and in particular Veientine, characters must have found their way into more than one play of Naevius.

The name *Ludus*, *The Lydian*, or *Etruscan*, would in itself suggest a comedy rather than a *praetexta*, but while *The Lydian* might possibly be a *palliata*, *The Etruscan* as comedy would be nothing more than an inconceivable anticipation of the *togata*. For *praetextae* we have but a very limited number of titles, and any argument based upon them should be accepted with hesitation. There is no sufficient reason for asserting that a tragedy (*praetexta*) dealing with Veii could not have been called *The Etruscan*, unless it be the vagueness of the designation.

Certainly Ribbeck's conjecture that Cicero's quotation is from the same play as that cited by Festus encounters a serious difficulty, in the impossibility of believing that Cato would be made to support his argument by a quotation enlarging upon the folly of youthful counsellors, if their counsels had led to the expulsion of a king.

(3) *poetae* LABIRSP^aVⁱP^a Bourb., Colb., Admont.; *posteriori(e)* PVvMEH; *posteriori poetae* Boist.

In a passage so obviously corrupt at one point, so difficult of explanation at another, one may be tempted to suspect *poëtae*

¹ Ribbeck no longer counts *Lupus* and *Romulus* one play, op. cit. pp. 321-323.

also; perhaps to assume that this word, and its variant, together with *ludo*, have displaced a longer name of the play (*Romulo?*). If *poëtae* is sound, this appears to be the only place in all Cicero where a quotation is said to be from *Naeivius poëta*. Looking further, an examination of Cicero's usage when citing the older poets shows, one might almost say, a studied avoidance of such a form as *Ennius poëta*. Exceptions are apparent, not real, and only, it seems, where there is no quotation from the writings of the poet in question, but merely an anecdote, a fact about the man, and the like; or where the authority or testimony of the poet is appealed to without quoting his words.

In quoting their verses Cicero does not add *poëta* to the name of Ennius, Livius Andronicus, Plautus, Pacuvius, Terence, Caecilius, Lucilius, Afranius, or even such lesser lights as Turpilius, Atilius, and Trabea. And yet, with Naeivius' exception, this list includes practically all the Roman poets Cicero mentions, down to Afranius. If then, for none of these the formula *Terentius poëta*, etc. is found to introduce a quotation, the present instance, standing quite alone, is rather suspiciously isolated from the general usage of Cicero. That "Naeivius seems to have been in the habit of adding *poëta* to his name" (Reid) might have some bearing upon the case, if Cicero's own habit were not in direct conflict.

But the statistical method fails nowhere more signally than in a case of this sort. The recovery of a single lost work of Cicero might give us instances enough to upset any array of negative evidence. And no one would be ready to bind any writer to a mechanical rule, such as would alone justify us in rejecting *poëtae*, on the ground that it is unsupported by other parallel cases.

It is not likely that the corruption is so extensive. If our explanation of *Ludo* find favor, we may then limit the obelus to *ut est*, or the emendation to *Veientes*, and hold fast to both *poëtae* and *Ludo*, in spite of new objections to the former and old ones to the latter.

§5. *Quid est enim aliud*, etc. The translation "for what does the battle of the giants with the gods signify but rebellion against Nature?" (Bennett, in agreement with Nauck) is plausible for the present passage, but the list of examples below will sufficiently show how freely Cicero used this mode of expression, how often without the least idea of explaining a myth, a law, or anything of the kind.

It is true that the Stoics were much given to allegorical interpretations, thus explaining away many of the old myths (cf. Sen. Ep. 58. 15, on the unreality of the giants); v. Munro on Lucr. v. 117 f., a passage in which Lucretius refers to the crime of the giants in language clearly borrowed from the Stoics. Cicero may well have had in mind these Stoic interpretations, but the mass of such examples as follow forbids us in the case of this *Quid est* . . . *aliud* ? to narrow the meaning to a special sense. Again, if Cicero had wished to suggest the meaning of the myth, he would never have brought in the comparison *Gigantum modo*.

Examples of *Quid est aliud*, etc. (all from Cicero):—

(1) with *nisi*:

T. D. i. 64: *Philosophia vero . . . QUID EST ALIUD NISI, ut Plato, donum, ut ego inventum deorum?*

De Div. ii. 78: *QUID EST ALIUD nolle moneri a Iove, NISI efficere ut aut ne fieri possit auspiciū aut, si fiat, videri?*

Rosc. Am. 54: *QUID EST ALIUD iudicio ac legibus ac maiestate vestra abuti ad quaestum atque ad libidinem, NISI hoc modo accusare . . .?*

T. D. i. 75: *QUID ALIUD agimus, cum a voluptate, id est, a corpore, . . . sevocamus animum, QUID, inquam, tum agimus, NISI animum ad se ipsum advocamus . . . maximeque a corpore abducimus? Secernere autem a corpore animum ECQUIDNAM ALIUD EST NISI mori discere?* Note that in the second member *quid* is repeated without *aliud*; in the third *nisi* is lacking in the MSS (as also *est*), but restored by Madvig, Sorof, Heine, Müller; Halm and Baiter read *ecquid aliud est quam*; but with *quam* instead of *nisi* no unquestioned instance of this phrase seems to have been cited from Cicero (Sorof, *T. D.* i. c. Anhang). Cf. Seyffert, Laelius² (C. F. W. Müller) pp. 128–9; Madvig de Fin. pp. 658–9. An instance with *quam* is cited by Halm from Seneca de Brev. Vitae, 16. 5.

Phil. iii. 21: *QUID EST ALIUD de eo referre non audere . . . NISI se ipsum hostem iudicare?*

Verr. i. 128: *QUID EST ALIUD omnibus omnia peccata . . . concedere, NISI hoc . . . non credere?*

(2) with *si non*:

Off. iii. 55: *QUID EST enim ALIUD erranti viam non monstrare, . . . SI hoc NON est, emptorem pati ruere, etc.*

Verr. Act. I. 10. 28: *QUID EST . . . iudicium corrumpere, SI hoc NON est?*

ib. II. iii. 30. 71: QUID EST ALIUD *capere conciliare pecunias* . . . SI hoc NON est, *vi atque imperio cogere invitos lucrum dare alteri* . . . ? (in this case it is a question of interpreting a law).

(3) without *nisi*, or an equivalent:

Phil. ii. 70: hoc est dicere: *et consul et impudicissimus, et consul et homo nequissimus*. QUID EST enim ALIUD *Antonius?* (cf. ib. 77: *O hominem nequam! QUID enim ALIUD dicam?*)

Phil. i. 22: QUID EST ALIUD *hortari adulescentes, ut turbulenti* . . . *cives velint esse?*

ib. ii. 7: QUID EST enim ALIUD *tollere ex vita vitae societatem, tollere amicorum colloquia absentium?*

ib. v. 5: QUID EST ALIUD *omnia ad bellum civile hosti arma largiri* . . . ?

ib. x. 5: QUID EST ALIUD *librarium Bruti laudare, non Brutum?*

Off. ii. 83: QUID EST ALIUD *aliis sua eripere, aliis dare aliena?*
In Pison. 47: QUID EST ALIUD *furere?*

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VII.—PIERRE D'URTE AND THE BASK LANGUAGE.

As the editor found it impracticable to send to Mr. E. S. Dodgson the promised second proof of his essay which appeared in Vol. XXIII 2 of the American Journal of Philology, and as the first proof thereof reached the author at a period when it was impossible for him to correct it in presence of the Oxford edition of P. d'Urtes translation, which is its subject; he is glad to admit the following list of corrections, in which the author justly exonerates the printer, so far as the type-written original permits him to do.

THE PRINTERS ERRORS.

p. 155, l. 1. It. p. 156, l. 28. Larramendi, p. 158, l. 7. G. c. etc: should begin line 8.; Note l. 7,—holders', p. 159, l. 27. G. c. etc: should begin l. 28. p. 160, l. 9. croutyn." p. 161, l. 4. words, p. 162, l. 11. hortaric' l. 12. matter). p. 163, l. 19. G. c. 34, should begin l. 20, and the words preceding should follow 'v. 27.' p. 164, l. 6. 'bark', l. 39 'becerro', p. 165, l. 8. giñezake' p. 168, l. 33. 'Etcioçontçat', p. 171, l. 3. eneacsen . . .; l. 4. ihiki, p. 172, l. 2. baitçuen,; l. 28. Baskish, p. 173, l. 23. v. 18. p. 174, l. 19 'hiredçat, emaztetçat' p. 176, l. 22. v. 22; and . . . p. 178, l. 7. plural,; l. 9. 'aitçigneau'; l. 22. 'hirriscuaren'. l. 36. l. 1. p. 180, l. 17. l. 3.

THE AUTHORS OVERSIGHTS.

p. 153, l. 21. Cejador. p. 154, l. 26. insert G. c. 3, summary and c. 5 summary the possessive of 'Adam' is 'Adameren', but c. 5, vv. 1 and 4, 'Adamen', as in Leizarraga. p. 155, l. 12. after 'and' insert p. 192; l. 13. çaitte oherat'; l. 19. c. 18,; l. 24. G. c. 35, v. 16 and c. 36, after 'is' add 'gtipi', l. 35. c. 45, v. 1. 'harequien'; c. 46, v. 1. 'guciequien', v. 6. 'harequien'; l. 37. c. 44, v. 26, l. 41, 'gueróctic' l. 42. 'gueróztic'. p. 157, l. 11. c. 15,; l. 40. so., p. 158, l. 7 (for 8) 'guiçónquia'. l. 11. 'gizôn'; l. 12. f. 14,; l. 13 'ar-rapáki'; l. 14. mánki'; l. 16. urréa' p. 160, l. 7. c. 41,; l. 15. guçietaric',; l. 18. c. 45, v. 10; l. 19. 18, v. 6; vv. 16 and 18; l. 20 ff. 73 (neurrimendútçat) 84 v°, 86, 129 (neurrimendútic); l. 22.

elsewhere, e. g. f. 81. v^o and 85. v^o. p. 161, 14 'ianeraguiten' l. 15 'bazceraguiten'; l. 25 'edantçac, hic'; l. 28. 47, v^o. v. 38. p. 162, l. 1. c. 9, v. 5;; l. 13. c. 18;; l. 15. after 'authors' insert 'It is, however, *bai* only in appearance; for it is a contraction, not of *bai* and *tut* (for *ditut*), but of *ba* and (*d*)*itut* by outshoving of the initial of *ditut* = *I have them*'. cf. f. 29, v^o. *baituc* for *ba-(d) ituc*. l. 16. 'baita'; right;; l. 30. v. 21. 'Tçat'. l. 39, Oxford, p. 163, l. 6. 'ediretecotçat', l. 10, v. 10;; l. 31, v. 15;; l. 37 'gôgara'; l. 41, v. 29; p. 164, l. 5 'Ruscino'; l. 37. 41, vv. 2, 3, 4. p. 165. l. 1. 'esnecumedúnez'; l. 13. G. c. 41, v. 36 'gossete iraun demboran', and v. 47 'abundancia iraun dembóran' l. 14. suppress 'the'. l. 23. 'çarétela' l. 29, v. 28. l. 31, v. 18. p. 166, l. 18. 'içango'. l. 39. e. g. Genesis. p. 167, l. 39, 95, and. p. 168, l. 2. foregoing half of the; l. 3. to'; l. 10, c. 14, v. 25; l. 34 l'(aie); l. 35 'Eztiaçacala' p. 170, l. 23. . . . , alan . . . leuqueala' p. 171, l. 3. ehor . . . ; l. 23., or "This; l. 38. Eternalgánic': p. 172 l. 9. . . olha—l. 12. Gerar;; l. 17, 37. p. 173, l. 12. 'Ian'; l. 13 'Noeremgnoco'; l. 14. At least branded as a supposed . . . scribe, however;; l. 20. suppress 9;; l. 27. 'contcerba' in G. c. 19, v. 32, etc: l. 39. 1713; reprinted in the same city in September 1902). p. 174, l. 22. núen; l. 23, diote'; l. 25. to them;; l. 41. F. 46 . . . 'Dadilllala' p. 175, l. 2. add F. 12, v. 8. 'bestia' is correct. l. 5. add cf. f. 129, v. 10, 'maitarassun'. l. 28. 148: 'Melchisedech handiaren', p. 176, l. 8. 'çiotte'; l. 28. fault in some places. l. 30. tive. In the latter verse the Oxford text has 'Abimele'. At the end add F. 36, v. 6 read 'elkárrequign', as the MS has it. p. 177. l. 16 'years', l. 17. F. 77, v^o. c. 43;; l. 24. 'cituen', after 'deithu'; l. 30. In F. 47;; l. 32 'an'. F. 48, (beginning a new line) l. 40. 'herri' = 'pays';; last line, add 'The scribes eye was caught by 'hiri' = 'tibi' three lines above.' p. 178, l. 7. add F. 50, v. 17. read 'Raçhelec'. 'The MS omits the name; but the Oxford edition wrongly supplied Rachel, the passive nominative'. v. 20. The MS has rightly 'baitçitçáizcon.' l. 8. 70, v^o. v. 6. l. 19. 'In v. 12 etc': should be placed l. 16 before v. 13. l. 28. 'sehirrat' l. 29. 'sehirrera'. 'assurera'. l. 34, v. 29. p. 179, l. 6. 'and F. 70'. l. 10. add 'Leiçarraga has 'triste da' Matt. 26, 41, and 'triste citecen' Matt. 17, 23, and 'tristetzen' elsewhere. l. 18. add 'The word is wrongly cut in twain in the original.' l. 39. add 'But Leiçarraga also used it, e. g. 'irin flore', Apoc. 18, 13; which is interesting as it shews the equation of 'irrin' with 'irin' and 'flore' with 'lore'. p. 180, l. 16 MS; perhaps 'ledin'. l. 20. c. 41, v. 22; and Ex: c. 9, v.

31. l. 24, v. 23. l. 36, add 'See v. 9. The French is: elle devint
ulceres avec vessies bourgeonnans',. p. 181, l. 11. add 'The French
is: 'Sauras tu auparavant que Egypte est perie?' l. 24. 116
verso. p. 182, l. 7. 'in Ex: c.' l. 32 'in G. c. p. 183, l. 4. 'Thou,
I pray'.

THE UNION SOCIETY, OXFORD, ENGLAND,
24 November, 1902.

EDWARD S. DODGSON.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

I due simposi in rapporto all' arte moderna. Ricerche critiche di PLACIDO CESAREO. Palermo, Alberto Reber, 1901.

"'Fears of the brave and follies of the wise'—and blunders of the learned." These are the words with which I began a little article written some twenty years ago on the lapses of eminent scholars. Yes, eminent scholars. And I am free to confess that if I were not 'domo da lunga esperienza e mite | dai maestri anni' and had opened Signor Cesareo's book on the two Symposia at p. 261,—there are 264 in all,—I might not have read his disquisitions with so much attention as I have done. On p. 261, to wit, when Cesareo comes to decide the period of the Xenophontean 'Simposietto', he assigns it to some malignant scribbler 'who arose after Xenophon, Plato and perhaps Aristotle, were dead, when Stoicism was waning and when sane art had begun to lose its bloom, before Athenaios came into the world (200), approximately the first half of the third century before Christ.' Now a man who fancies that Aristotle lived into the third century and that Athenaios came into the world two hundred years before Christ would seem to have put himself out of a philological court and to have deserved relegation to the company of average historians of Greek literature. But I should have lost something, if I had not studied his book. For Signor Cesareo has read everything about the two Symposia, from Cornarius to Dakyns. He displays a knowledge of the Platonic literature that is not easily paralleled, and he is up to his eyes, over them sometimes, in modern aesthetics. True, his book is disfigured by numberless typographical errors, any one of which would have cost the editor of the *American Journal of Philology* sleepless nights. True, his style is unbearably diffuse, exasperatingly repetitious and distractingly picturesque. But before I reached the astounding sentence just quoted I had made a summary of the book for my own use and had interwoven into it a number of little things of my own; and now I am afraid that I have wasted my oil, which is not all oil of vitriol, and my toil, which was in part a labor of love. As, however, I have renounced the long cherished hope of editing the *Symposium of Plato*,¹ perhaps I may be excused for abridging the work of some happier man by saving from the flames a summary of that summary.

Much of the book, which it is fair to say, has for its sovereign aim the cultivation of aesthetic study, is taken up with discussion

¹ See Johns Hopkins University Circulars No. 55, Jan. 1887.

of realism and idealism and with the refutation of the current statement that Plato is an idealist, Xenophon a realist, a contrast to which Grote and Hug and Dakyns commit themselves. Of course, everything depends on the definition and when Rosmini says that 'real' is often used as the synonym of 'ideal', one sees the futility of the antithesis, which Bénard reconciles by saying: *Le véritable idéal de l'art c'est le réel idéaliste*. Cesareo then proceeds to prove that there is no such thing as absolute objectivity and to apply at rather wearisome length to the two Symposia the various categories of realism and idealism, as laid down by modern writers on aesthetics, in order to show that realism and idealism have nothing to do with art, certainly nothing to do with antique art. Realism, as represented by Zola,—if naturalism may be called realism, a portentous 'if',—and idealism, as represented by Mallarmé, if that can be called idealism, are both untrue to the motto *μέτρον ἄριστον*, which incorporates the vital principle of the true art of antiquity. Your supreme artist is both realistic and idealistic.

The realists demand rigorous analysis of facts, absolute objectivity, reproduction of the environment, or rather of that which is visible and tangible in the environment. As for form, the serious artists of the new school care little for it. Cant, slang, the most trivial and vulgar diction suffices. The best style is no style at all. Their stylistic programme is that of Frederic Harrison, of Cato the Elder, without the admirable results that ensued in the case of the modern Positivist and in that of the ancient Censor who was positive enough in his way.

The realistic fad lasted a good while, is not over yet. Then the reaction set in, the brood of symbolists, aesthetes, intellectuals. No detail, only suggestion. The author is everything, the subjective idea is everything. The Cult of Style is proclaimed. Nothing is to be common or vulgar. Everything is to be rich and strange. Full fathom five is the least admissible depth.

Now the Greek of the better time unconsciously followed a mean between the two extremes, and I for my part do not consider it necessary to read Cesareo's previous work on 'Subjectivism in Homer' in order to be convinced that there is a personal element even in the impersonal epic. Homer, he says, is at times as minute in his analysis as Dostojewsky and then again as suggestive as Pindar and yet suggestiveness is the mark of idealism, analysis the mark of realism. To be sure, there is no symbolist in antiquity. The ancients never fall into the Bedlamitish jabber, to which Verlaine and Mallarmé sometimes descend. Xenophon it is true, is apt to deal with the obvious and superfluous. But there is nothing to compare with the tiresome and otiose detail of modern writers of this school. Flaubert says deliberately in regard to his great book 'Mme. Bovary' that he wishes to reproduce the effect of lassitude and boredom; and this Cesareo seems to think inconsistent with the antique standard, forgetting perhaps that the prolixity of Nestor and Phoinix stretches our modern endurance of dramatic propriety. *ὅχι ἔδος*, says Patroklos (Il. 11,

648), οὐχ ἔδος ἐστὶ, γεραίε διοτρεφέας but the old man keeps him standing while he tells the tale of the conflict between the Pylians and Eleians, to which Patroklos listens with as much patience as a young soldier of our great war would have listened to the story of Palo Alto or Resaca de la Palma.

In his comparison of ancient with modern literary art, Cesareo yields the palm for obscenity and lubricity to the French, but contends that in this department antiquity is not a bad second. But in the best period of antique art passion redeems sensuality. So far as the breach of what we call morality is concerned, Sappho, says Cesareo, who believes the very worst of Sappho, is no better than Nana,—but her intense love reaches the sphere of the divine.

So much for the first two chapters headed respectively 'The two Symposia as works of art' and 'Idealism and Realism among the Greeks.' In his third chapter, Cesareo proceeds to apply the canons of realism and idealism to the two Symposia. The first canon of realism is minute and rigorous analysis of facts. Where does one find more minute analysis than in Plato, that very Plato who is supposed by some to have wrought out in detail the hints of the Xenophontean Symposium.¹ In his genuine works Xenophon, who is set down as a realist, is as virginal as Plato the idealist failed to be, and the occasional coarsenesses of the Memorabilia are effaced in Cesareo's mind by the episode of Abradatas and Pantheia in the Cyropaedeia. As to the second canon, is Xenophon an objectivist, Plato a subjectivist? Is the personality of Xenophon merged? Is that of Plato explicit? Why, all the laborious commentators of Xenophon unite in pointing out the egoism of the author. Plato, on the other hand, is a dramatist and never fails in dramatic propriety, whereas Xenophon's characters are all Xenophon and the author of the Anabasis and the Memorabilia, not to say the author of the X. S., has no dramatic talent. As to the third canon, the representation of the environment in its actuality, Xenophon, it is true, in his Anabasis, deals with things that he has seen, though Dürrbach might not agree with Cesareo² there, but the Cyropaedeia is a romance. The Memorabilia is supposed, how justly no one knows, to represent scenes in which Xenophon himself was present; but what of the Hiero? Teichmüller says that Plato deals with a real world, Cobet that he is a more exact portrait-painter than is Xenophon, and Huit has pointed out that he has given a more faithful picture of the Greek commonwealth than any historian. And yet this is Plato the idealist! The philosophical thought of Plato belongs to the abstract, the ideal. The artistic representation is always plastic, concrete, realistic. No better illustration of this than the relation of *μῦθος* to *λόγος* in Plato. It is hard to draw the line between the artistic

¹ Henceforward P. S. = Platonic Symposium; X. S. = Xenophontean Symposium.

² Revue des ét. gr. 1893, p. 343, foll.

and the philosophic myth, and no wonder, for they are often fused. What Sokrates calls a λόγος, Kallikles calls a μῦθος. The pretended antagonism of Plato and Xenophon is naught. True, they are as unlike as 'bread and cheese', but that unlikeness does not prove personal antagonism. But it does make antipathy possible, and if Cesareo admitted antipathy, we might substitute our English 'chalk and cheese'. Bread and cheese are complementary, and 'the third in the union' is—kisses. The ancients manufactured a hostility between Homer and Hesiod, Pindar and Bakchylides, Aischylos and Sophokles. Both Plato and Xenophon were *virī Socratici*, and the identity of the subjects treated by them would naturally suggest rivalry. But compare Pindemonte and Foscolo, Goethe and Lenau, Scott and Manzoni. There was no bad feeling, no *simultas* between Plato and Xenophon and what is cited as a document, the rivalry of the two Symposia, amounts to nothing, for the X. S. is not worthy of Xenophon. It is, as Bonghi has frankly said, not a work of art.

The Platonic Symposium is not a pure fiction; it is not a 'guazzabuglio di frottole'. It is based on an historical fact. The X. S. is in the air. Even Plato's anachronisms are history, though history turned upside down, and Plato as a dramatist is allowed a certain scope. The time of a poet is the eternity of the opium eater. The long day of the Republic is measured by the same clock as the three long days of the Divina Commedia.

As for the characters of the P. S., which has been called the comedy, as the Euthydemus has been called the farce, and the Phaedo the tragedy of the Platonic repertory, they are all taken from life. They are not mere incorporations—Phaidros of the mythologer, Pausanias of the politician, Eryximachos of the pedant, Aristophanes of the artist, Agathon of the sophist—as has been held. The model was in each case a living human being, such as the true artist must have.

Nor are the characters the masks for other personages of the Platonic world, as Sydenham supposed, as Teichmüller has tried to make out for the Euthydemus. They are historical, all of them, and Plato has been true to his *dramatis personae*, truer than most historians. When we turn to the X. S. we find that Sokrates is called an old man, when he was only forty-seven, though, to be sure, there is no hard and fast line for old age, that Lykon is called a notable when he is a nobody—a thing that has happened to others—and there are other points not necessary to bring out in detail, which might be excused by the dramatic perspective, if the X. S. were dramatic, which it is not.

'All the Platonic personages are accomplished persons', says Grote; 'the Xenophontic personages, except Sokrates and Antisthenes, are persons of ordinary capacity'. But what has that to do with realism and idealism? exclaims Cesareo. A fine compliment to realism! Why should a florist put a burdock in his bouquet? The dismissal of the flute-girl in the P. S. is

as realistic as the retention of her in the X. S., and Cesareo might have cited a very realistic passage from certain memoirs which recounts how on one occasion Napoleon was too much absorbed in his plans to carry out a fugitive amour.

Leaving the question of priority in abeyance, and not stopping to ask whether Xenophon had the hardihood to attempt the betterment of what Plato had done supremely well, whether Plato has shown triumphantly how Xenophon ought to have done it, leaving this question in abeyance, no one can deny that there is a certain correspondence in the characters of the two dialogues. Agathon answers to Kallias, Aristophanes to Philippos. But Agathon is drawn to the life. Kallias is an historical abortion and a failure in art. Philippos is an imaginary type and not an historical buffoon. The X. S. is our only evidence for his real existence. His absurd remarks and his poor jokes, borrowed and spoiled in the borrowing, present a dismal contrast to the genialities of the grand γελωτοποιός Aristophanes.

The question as to the representation of the character of Sokrates in the two Symposia brings up the old controversy about the truthfulness of the two *virī Socratici* in the portraiture of the master. Everyone who has had to do with the son of Sophroniskos has had his say on the subject from Brucker to Joël, and Cesareo echoes Bonghi in awarding the palm to Plato. Plato may have fooled himself, but he is in the main the more faithful interpreter of Sokrates. Never did liegeman know more of his lord. Never did disciple lose himself so completely in his master. At all events, in the P. S. all the personal features of Sokrates come out, all his mental and moral characteristics. To say, as has been said, that Plato bore the practical sage aloft on the wings of his philosophic spirit, is to say that Sokrates has no wings of his own. Why, even in Aristophanes he treads the air.

But whatever may be said of the Xenophontean representation of Sokrates elsewhere, in the X. S. we have nothing but an imitation of Plato and of the true Xenophon, with a few drops from the Clouds of Aristophanes. Even that stout champion of Xenophon, Dakyns, is obliged to admit the superiority of Plato's representation of the personality of Sokrates.

Cesareo next takes up the characters of the P. S. that are not found in the Xenophontean, and proceeds to develop the difference between the 'sofistichino' Phaidros, the sucking sophist, as he has been called, and the 'sofisticone' Pausanias. The burning question why the *ἱερὸς λόγος* business is attributed to Phaedrus in the P. S. and to Pausanias in the X. S. cannot be disposed of, thinks Cesareo, by a σφάλμα μνημονικόν, and he sets it down as a bit of wanton falsehood on the part of the Pseudo-Xenophon. Little does Cesareo know of the range of that same σφάλμα μνημονικόν. It is the Até of philology.

Eryximachos is a triumph of realism, says Cesareo. He must have been an actual personage. He is no mask for Hippias, and

Heaven forbid that we should identify him with Plato, as Sybel has done. And so say I. As well identify Malvolio with Shakespeare. Alkibiades is another successful portrait in which that 'homo ingeniosissime nequam' is taken off to the life. Apollodoros ὁ μανικός is a 'buon diavoluccio', and we seem to know Aristodemos, who is drawn with a few strokes, as Shakespeare has drawn his James Gurney in four words, 'Good leave, good Philip', according to the penetrating remark of Charles Lamb. As for Diotima, Cesareo maintains that she is an historical character, like Theano, like Aspasia. The significance of the name, the punning reference in *Μαρτυρικὴ* amounts to nothing. Such coincidences abound, and the defender of Diotima's personality might have pointed to Aspasia herself and to Theano herself.

Of the characters that are peculiar to the X. S., Autolykos gives our resolute fault-finder most trouble. The worst that he can elicit from a minute analysis is the feebleness of the imitation, the lack of verisimilitude. The worst that any one can say of Autolykos is that he is a tiresome good boy, a wearisome Telemachos. Those who enjoy the portrait of the youthful Cyrus, which I must frankly say repelled me when I myself was a boy in the year of grace 1844, have no right to withhold their sympathy from Autolykos. In fact, he is much more tolerable than the precocious prig depicted in the first book of the *Cyropaedeia*. In everything that Xenophon has written there is a suspicion of self-portraiture.

In his deadly hostility to the 'Simposietto' Cesareo does not omit to mention that Lykon, the father of Autolykos, was a wittol, which is simply a bit of irrelevant scandal. Nikeratos is but a reminiscence of the Platonic Ion. Kritobulos is another historical character about whom we know a good deal from other sources than the X. S., but apart from his notorious beauty, there is no salient trait such as we find elsewhere, his pride in his wealth, his indifference to his wife, his boy-kissing and boy-fancying, his butterfly friendships. Hermogenes, the poor brother of Kallias, cuts a wretched figure in the eyes of our critic. Antisthenes is reduced from an acute thinker, a witty talker and a winning speaker to a mere puppet. Charmides, whom we have all learned to like from the Platonic dialogue that bears his name, shows nothing of the sweetness of temper that is so attractive in the Platonic Charmides. He has been called by one critic a cosmopolitan born out of due time. Well, what of it? So was Xenophon; and it is for this reason that Bowers patriots, such as Niebuhr, have never been able to stomach Xenophon. In brief, the Platonic types obey the law of the realists, which demands the analytic, the partial, the special, and yet do not disobey the other law, that of the ideal, which demands the synthetic, the universal, whereas the types of the X. S. are consistent neither with reality nor with ideality.

Not without interest is Cesareo's chapter on Eros in the two

Symposia, in which he contends that Platonic love is a love that has its roots in the physical nature of man. In fact, severe critics have found in Plato not a few traces of the worship of the Great Goddess, Lubricity, as Matthew Arnold calls her. In the different works of Plato the theory of love presents different facets. In the Symposium we have the compendium and the synthesis of them all. In short, Plato's Eros is neither all sensual nor all spiritual. As there are degrees in knowledge from *δόξα* to *ἐπιστήμη* so there are degrees in love, and in the Symposium as in the Divina Commedia we mount to the highest, *τὴν ἀνω ἀνάβασιν καὶ θέαν τῶν ἄνω* (Rpb. 517 B).

Now love was not much in the line of the true Xenophon, thinks Cesareo, despite the episode of Pantheia in the Cyropaedeia; and the true Xenophontean Sokrates looks upon love as a delusion and a snare. In our 'Simposietto' Love is neither the love of the realist nor the love of the idealist and the theme is lugged in by main force. The Eros of the P. S. is the Eros of all the intellectual world of the time of Plato. The Eros of the X. S. gives at most the view of one man. The Eros of the P. S. is myth and idea. In the X. S. it is not myth; and the idea is so disconnected, so incoherent that one gets no artistic conception of Eros. The Eros of the P. S. is represented by each of the speakers in an original way. In the X. S. we have nothing but conventionality. The Eros of the P. S. shows variety in unity. A divine harmony arises from the dissonance. In the X. S. the one discourse does not harmonize with itself. The Eros of the P. S. is in keeping with the character of the speaker. The Eros of the X. S. is not consistent with the character of the historical Sokrates. The P. S. is both real and ideal. It is perfect. The X. S. is neither real nor ideal. It is unaesthetic.

In the chapter which deals with the style and diction of the two Symposia, Cesareo reminds us as he often does, that Realism demands analysis, unconditional objectivity, the representation of the environment. Idealism demands synthesis, unconditional subjectivity, a new heaven and a new earth.

Now, according to Cesareo this analysis manifests itself in the precise use of moods and tenses, the cumulation of participles, the exactness, the *proprietas* of the vocabulary and the wealth and variety of particles. True, when he contrasts Plato's precision in use of moods and tenses with Homer's looseness he does not stand alone; indeed, he simply echoes Cauer. But the last word has not been said on that subject. Such statements are to be accepted with extreme caution. Cobet has found fault with Herodotos' use of the historical tenses, especially the imperfect, and I have made it a point in my Greek Syntax to show how exact he could be. It is safer to maintain with Ameis that Homer's imperfects are to be considered imperfects, and not mere happy-go-lucky preterites. The 'Schwäche der homerischen Denkart' may after all be 'Stumpfheit des Sprachgefühls' on

the part of the critic.¹ The cumulation of participles in the P. S. is set down by Cesareo to Plato's analytical genius. But that the increasing use of the participle is in any way due to the strengthening of the analytic faculty in the Greeks, inasmuch as the participle serves to subordinate one action to another, is not a proposition that can be accepted without reserve. The stylistic effect of polymetochy, of pyknometochy is, as I have shown at some length, quite the reverse of analysis.² The section on vocabulary cannot be discussed even briefly here. Cesareo has overlooked the demands of ποικιλία in Plato. As for Plato's wealth and variety of particles he would be a bold man who should claim for the Platonic use an exactness denied to the Homeric use. As we can see from a comparison with the orators, Plato's wealth of particles is due to his μίμησις of conversational language. But is it safe to resolve all μίμησις into analysis?

Homer, says Cesareo, is a prince of analysis but he is less than mediocre in synthesis, which is not the privilege of primitive ages. The child is prone to distinguish, not to recompose, for analysis requires less idealizing power and less coordinating experience. As evidences of Plato's synthetic power Cesareo adduces his pregnant use of words which is said to be the special glory of Italian poetry, pregnant constructions, omissions, ellipses, asyndeta; but the last and best expression of synthetic power is the summary which each personage gives of his own discussion at the beginning and the end of it; and here is seen a strong contrast to Homer and—Zola. I need not say that this synthesis is the κατάστασις and the ἀνακεφαλαίωσις of the rhetoricians and belongs to the regular machinery of speech-making. Verily, if there is much virtue in synthesis, there is much vice in aesthetic cant. Every one sees in Homer what he brings to Homer and the richer one's own experience of life, the more does one admire the dramatic art of the court-singer and the faithful portraiture of the naked soul in what is earliest, what is best in Greek poetry. The ballad-monger theory sins against the spirit of the highest art.

Now when we compare Symposikin with Symposium we find that in opposition to the dictum of the critics, the analysis in the 'idealistic' Plato is even more minute than in the 'realistic' Xenophon. Indeed the would-be analysis of the X. S. is sheer disconnectedness. The speeches show a mechanical, not a chemical combination. They follow one upon another like slides in a lantern. There is no thread that binds them together and the attempts at concatenation are highly artificial. Hence the obscurity of the X. S.; hence the frequent puzzles, whereas in the P. S. everything is plain. Remarkable is the abuse of the Greek freedom in the change of subjects. Homer is free. But he is addressing rude audiences. Plato is free but he does it dramatically. Not so our unfortunate scribbler who shifts his subject as often as five times in a single sentence. He has, it is true, a lot of particles but a

¹ A. J. P. XXIII 250.

² A. J. P. IX 137 foll.

large part of them are useless and some of the *voces praeagnantes* are filched from Plato; and when they are not stolen they are obscure. In fine, Cesareo cannot understand why anybody should suppose that Plato took as his model this 'Simposietto', as if it were the quintessence of a fine Greek style.

Realism demands absolute impersonality; idealism absolute personality. The P. S. ought to be personal, the X. S. impersonal. And there is no denying the fact that Plato shows personality throughout. His style is a mean between poetry and prose, as Aristotle pointed out in a sentence which may be expanded but cannot be improved; and the P. S. is impregnated with poetry. All the characters are more or less poetical, the language is tinged with poetry, the rhythms are poetical. One does not have to prove that for Phaidros, the Homerist, for Aristophanes, the comic poet, for Agathon, the dramatist, but even Pausanias, the rhetorical is not free from the infection and while Sokrates and Poet are 'cat and dog' or dog and cat whichever you choose, the son of Sophroniskos not only uses poetic language in rehearsing Diotima's discourse but lapses into sundry poetic sins on his own account. Cesareo does not undertake to show that Malvolio-Eryximachos, as I have ventured to call him, ever indulges in poetic flights but contents himself with emphasizing the frequency of his poetical quotations. Eryximachos was a pedant and there was nothing else to quote from except poetry, as Cesareo fails to observe.

But while Plato's native vein makes itself felt, like everything else it is made subservient to dramatic needs, or, to use the cant of the aesthetic gentry, the subjective requisites objectify themselves in the various persons. Sokrates abounds in questions. Phaedrus asks but one. Antithesis is occasionally used by Phaidros—why not by Pausanias?—but the discourse of Agathon is a tissue of antitheses. In fact, Agathon is a Marinist before Marini's time.

All the personages of the P. S. satirize themselves unconsciously. They are all put in a comic light. There is Pausanias, for instance, who tangles himself up in his periods and can't get out, and who 'murders grammar worse than some modern philologists'. There is Aristophanes, who evolves all his extravaganzas with a most serious air.

Plato is clever and all his characters are clever, but they are clever each in his own way. Especially noteworthy is the parodic character of Aristophanes' discourse, which enables us to understand the fun he makes of Sokrates in the Clouds. There is no fusing of the two geniuses, the Platonic and the Aristophanic. What we have, if I may use a cigar-vendor's phrase instead of Cesareo's metaphysics, is Aristophanic filling in a Platonic wrapper.

Now contrast the X. S. Where is the objectivity that is demanded by realism? The author is in evidence throughout and utters his own opinions, which, as Cesareo maintains, are not the opinions of the true Xenophon. The foibles of the Platonic

personages are all different in conformity with the requirements of dramatic art. In the X. S. the same foibles reappear. The periods of the X. S. are incoherent. The imitation of the language of Plato is as unsuccessful as it is evident. The figures are scant and poor. The attempts at wit are pitiable. The jokes are either incomprehensible, ill-timed or silly; and in a burst of contempt Cesareo calls the subjectivity of the X. S. 'una subiettività di insulsaggini'.

The P. S. echoes the language of the market-place. Proverbs abound. Apt anakoluthia's artless aid is invoked to give naturalness to the talk, but not indiscriminately. Alkibiades, who is chokeful of wine, is chokeful of anakolutha. Sober Eryximachos has hardly any. Phaidros, the puzzle-headed, telescopes his thoughts, as we Americans would say. Pausanias gets tangled up in his sentences, as we have seen. Sokrates has an anakoluthon from time to time, but there is no darkening of counsel when his major is bereft of its minor. Here Cesareo pushes analysis to an extreme; and when he says that Alkibiades is worse than anakoluthic, that he is chaotic, our critic goes too far. Alkibiades is not Anglo-Saxonically and inarticulately drunk. He is Hellenically and articulately drunk.

The X. S. tries to be lively, tries to have the snap and the go of Attic speech, but has not attained. Witness the obscurities. Witness the tiresome imitation of Plato. And if Plato is an idealist, as they assert, if he is an exotic, how can his imitator give us the natural and the popular of the realist? For the details of the language see Cobet, see Mehler, see Schenkl, the last mentioned of whom finds many phrases that are neither Greek nor anything else. The anakolutha in the X. S. have not, as they have in the P. S., the double office of giving actuality to language, of representing more perfectly the state of mind and the characters of the personages in hand. Not all the medicinal gums of Weiske, of Schneider, of Schenkl, avail to cure the diseases of this little book.

After putting the X. S. to this open shame, after making it stand in the pillory and pelting it with the fruits of learning and the eggs of fancy for two hundred and forty-five pages, Cesareo attacks the question of priority, although he has in his own judgment decided it by his arraignment of the Simposietto. There are three possible views:

- I. The P. S. is prior to the X. S. and the model of it.
- II. The X. S. is prior to the P. S. and the model of it.
- III. Neither is the model of the other, and the question of priority is a matter of no consequence.

The third view is curtly dismissed. It has few advocates.

The priority of the X. S. has the authority of Boeckh's great name, and the support of the two latest and chiefest editors of the P. S., Hug and Rettig; but Karl Friedrich Hermann, Steinhart and Schanz are of the opposite view; and Cesareo does not stand alone in maintaining the spuriousness of the

X. S. Suspicions of the genuineness of it have been rife from Gail to Jowett. Boeckh in one of his early performances says that the spuriousness of a work can be convincingly proved, not so the genuineness. But in this case it is interesting to see how the argument gets into the sphere of the *εἰκός* of which one has so much in Attic oratory. Is it likely that X. could have been so besotted as to attempt to improve on the Symposium of Plato? Who knows? The limits of human vanity are not to be marked by any hard and fast line. Xenophon's smug self-complacency is to some of his readers the worst thing about him, worse if possible than the want of patriotism that made him so repulsive to Niebuhr. Goethe's Faust did not check the generation of Fausts.

But Cesareo thinks that even in his old age Xenophon would not have been capable of such a weak performance as the *Symposikin*. Verdi, he cries, composed Falstaff when he was eighty, and Xenophon could have done much better than the author of the '*Simposietto*'. I am glad to read such a vindication of the *μακρόβιοι*. It is in refreshing contrast to the tone of one scholar, who considers it a monstrous supposition that Plato could have been equal to the *Theaetetus* after sixty.

Now take the other hypothesis, the Xenophontean priority. Is it conceivable, asks our critic, that Plato should have taken so poor a thing as the X. S. for his model? We can understand Isokrates, the vain old rhetorician, when he shows a rival how the thing ought to be done. But Plato? Dakyns imagines Beethoven using a '*Volklied*' as a movement in the *Sinfonia Eroica*, and there are similar incorporations of popular airs in ambitious operas, as we all know. Plato as a lordly genius was a corsair, like Molière after him, not a sneakthief, and would not have hesitated to help himself to any tempting bit that lay in his path. Bumboat or galleon, everything is the prize of the pirate. The genuine ancients cared little about charges of plagiarism. But for all that Cesareo thinks that a deliberate and thoroughgoing betterment of such a wretched performance as the X. S. is quite inconceivable for such a genius as Plato. We are in the domain of the *εἰκός* again.

The solution of the whole problem lies, as we have seen, in the spuriousness of the X. S., which Cesareo thinks he has established. But if Xenophon did not write it, who did? A question to be asked, but a question that Cesareo does not consider himself bound to answer; and it is a pity that he had not declined even a guess, for it is just here that he has made a slip that, as we have seen, diminishes our confidence in the critic.

But if the Xenophontean Symposium is the wretched affair that Cesareo makes it out to be, why should it have been so much admired and even set above the P. S. by some critics?

'It is a tremendous saying of Landor's', says Augustine Birrell: 'We admire by tradition and we criticize by caprice',

and all I can do here is to set Dakyns against Cesareo. Personally I have no great admiration of the X. S. and cannot share the enthusiasm of the latest editor, Mr. Marchant, when he tells us of the 'Convivi delicias exquisitas', nor, on the other hand, have I so high an opinion of the 'genuine Xenophon' as to think him incapable of the X. S. Even Signor Cesareo has to admit that, like the bad egg in the story: 'Parts of it are very good'.

B. L. G.

REPORTS.

ROMANIA, Vol. XXX (1901).

Janvier.

Ferdinand Lot. *Nouvelles études sur la Provenance du cycle arthurien*. XI-XVIII. 21 pages. M. Ferdinand Lot here discusses a number of place-names connected with King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table.

Arthur Piaget. *La Belle Dame sans Merci et ses imitations*. 27 pages. We have given here an account of the controversy raised at the French Court by the allusions made by the poet, a number of hitherto unpublished documents being printed from the mediæval manuscripts of Alain Chartier.

Alfred Morel-Fatio. *Le Débat entre Anton de Moros et Gonzalo Davila*. 16 pages. Nine poems forming part of an acrimonious discussion between an Aragonese and a Castilian trobador are published from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

Salverda de Grave. *Les Mots dialectaux du Français en Moyen-Néerlandais*. 48 pages. The author of the article by investigating a large number of French words occurring in Mediæval Dutch texts endeavors to determine which of the Old-French dialects exerted the greatest influence upon the language of their northern neighbors. He finds that all the indications noted point to that of Picardy, and this is made plausible by the historical fact that the French counts of that region long reigned over Holland.

Mélanges. Ov. Densusianu, *Primus et *Antaneus en Roumain*. Albert Dauzat, Amaiza. Albert Dauzat, *Urgere*. R. J. Cuervo, *Canoa*. R. J. Cuervo, *Sabana*. Ferdinand Lot, *Le Cri de la bête dans le Daniel du Stricker*.

Comptes rendus. Dr. Gustav Schlessinger, *die altfranzösischen Wörter in "Machsor Vitry" nach der Ausgabe des Vereins "Mekize Nirdamim"* (Louis Brandin). Gaston Paris, *Orson de Beauvais, chanson de geste du XII^e siècle* (H. Suchier). R. Berger, *Canchons und Partures des altfranzösischen Trouvere*. Adan de le Hale le Bochu d'Aras (A. Jeanroy et G. Paris). M. Potanine, *Les motifs orientaux dans l'épopée du moyen âge* (E. Anitchkoff).

Périodiques. Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, XXIV 4, discussion of etymologies (G. Paris). Siebenter Jahresbericht des Instituts für rumänische Sprache zu Leipzig (Mario Roques).

Chronique. Obituary notice on Adolphe Hatzfeld, who died Oct. 5, 1900. He is known especially as the author of his *Seizième Siècle en France*, and the *Dictionnaire Général*. Announcement that the last person who spoke the indigenous Romance dialect of Dalmatia died on June 10, 1898.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 5 titles. *La satire des femmes dans la poésie lyrique française du moyen âge*, par Théodore Lee Neff. (Dissertation de Chicago. "Travail mal conçu et rédigé en un français plus que médiocre"). A History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe from the Earliest Texts to the Present Day, by George Saintsbury. Vol. I. Classical and Mediæval Criticism (Mediæval French literature has been neglected by the author).

Avril et Juillet.

Mario Roques. *L'Élément historique dans Fierabras et dans la Branche II du Coronement Loois*. 23 pages. (Both of these poems are founded on the siege of Rome by the Saracens in 846. M. Gaston Paris adds a confirmatory note founded upon an independent investigation of the same problem).

Raymond Weeks. *Études sur Aliscans*. 14 pages. (Prof. Weeks calls attention to the fact that this poem raises an unusually large number of interesting problems, some of which he endeavors to solve. He finds both interior and exterior contradictions which make it difficult to arrive at any certain conclusions as to the origin of the primitive legend).

Auguste Longnon. *La procession du bon abbé Ponce, Chanson historique et satirique du XIII^e siècle*. 19 pages. (This is one of the rare instances of a historical chanson as early as the thirteenth century which is founded upon contemporary events. It has reference undoubtedly to a sort of private war between the party of the Abbé Ponce and the monastery of Saint-Seine, and was written about the year 1241).

E. Philippon. *Morphologie du dialecte lyonnais aux XIII^e e XIV^e siècles*. 82 pages. (Recent discoveries of additional Lyonesse texts have made it possible to determine with greater precision than hitherto the special characteristics of the dialect in question).

Paul Meyer. *Notice du ms. 10295-304 de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique (Légendes en prose et en vers)*. 22 pages. (Besides the lives of saints this manuscript contains the *Esopé* of Marie de France and the *Image du Monde* of Gautier de Metz. Among the former is a version of the Saint Alexis legend).

Arthur Piaget. *La Belle Dame sans Merci et ses imitations*. 35 pages. (This instalment of the article begun in the previous number treats of le Parlement d'amour de Baudet Herenc, and la Dame loyale en amour, the last-mentioned poem being published in full in a critical edition).

Gaston Paris. *Villoniana*. 41 pages. (M. Gaston Paris here gives sundry notes on matters connected with this author which he collected while engaged in the preparation of his small book on Villon published recently in the *Grands écrivains français*).

Mélanges. Paul Meyer, C et G suivis d'A en provençal. A. Thomas, Le Suffixe -esimus en français. Paul Meyer, Provençal Nadiu. A. Delboulle, Davoisne. A. Delboulle, Un proverbe altéré. Eug. Ritter, Romancium et Gallicum. Gaston Paris, Mayence et Nimègue dans le Chevalier au Cygne. Ernest Muret, Un fragment de Marco Polo.

Comptes rendus. Ovide Densusianu, Histoire de la langue roumaine (G. Paris). Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke, Die Betonung im Gallischen (A. Thomas). F. Noack, Der Strophenausgang in seinem Verhältnis zum Refrain und Strophengrundstock in der refrainhaltigen altfranzösischen Lyrik (A. Jeanroy). Henry A. Todd, La Vie de sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie (G. Paris). Kr. Nyrop, Observations sur quelques vers de la farce de Maître Pierre Pathelin (G. Paris). Jean Ducamin, Juan Ruiz Arcipreste de Hita, Libro de Buen Amor (R. Menéndez Pidal). J. Leite de Vasconcellos, Estudos de philologia mirandesa (Albert Dauzat).

Périodiques. Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, XXV, 1, discussion of etymologies (G. Paris). Archivio glottologico italiano, XII, discussion of etymologies (Mario Roques). Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie, XXI, enumeration of contents (E. M.). Revue de philologie française et de littérature, XIII, 1-XIV, 4, enumeration of contents with scant comment (P. Meyer). Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes français, 1900, mention of an Old-French manuscript preserved in the library of the University of Upsala. Bulletin historique et philologique (Comité des travaux historiques), année 1899, containing a number of articles on Old-French legal documents which throw an interesting side-light upon the history of the language (P. Meyer). Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, années 1897-1900, containing an old inscription and charts of various sorts bearing on the language and literature of France in the Middle Ages (P. Meyer).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Prof. G. A. Scartazzini, the well-known Dante scholar, and of Comte Théodore de Puymaigre, a scholarly writer on the literature of Spain and Portugal. Account of the three complimentary volumes presented by former

pupils to Profs. A. d'Ancona, G. I. Ascoli, and P. A. Geijer respectively. This is an instance of a tendency which has manifested itself very strongly of late years in learned circles all over the world. Dr. Edward C. Armstrong announces that he has in preparation a critical edition of the Barlaam et Josaphat legend in Old-French verse, having copied the manuscripts of Tours and Carpentras.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 35 titles. Cornell University Library, Catalogue of the Dante Collection presented by Wilard Fiske, compiled by Theodore Wesley Koch (notice by A. Morel-Fatio. "Félicitons M. Koch de l'heureux achèvement de ce grand travail, qui témoigne non seulement d'une excellente méthode bibliographique, mais d'une connaissance du sujet que peu de spécialistes possèdent"). Federico Hanssen, *Notas de filologia castellana*, Santiago de Chile. Hugo Albert Rennert, *Macias, o namorado, a Galician Trobador* (notice by A. Morel-Fatio. "L'étude grammaticale de l'ancien gallego que nous présente ici M. Rennert rendra des services"). Federico Hanssen, *Elementos de fonología castellana*, Santiago de Chile ("Son exposé nous a paru juste en général, et ses idées sont judicieuses"). J. Douglas Bruce, *The Middle-English Metrical Romance "Le Morte Arthur", its Sources and its Relation to Sir Thomas Malory's "Morte Darthur"* ("Cette étude ne devra pas être négligée par celui qui voudra faire l'histoire difficile du Lancelot français"). Gustav Körting, *Lateinisch-Romanisches Wörterbuch, zweite vermehrte und verbesserte Ausgabe*.

Octobre.

Ferdinand Lot. *Date de la chute des dentales intervocales en français.* 8 pages. The fall of intervocalic d, which is given by Schwan-Behrens' grammar as having occurred at the end of the eleventh century and by Nyrop as the beginning of the twelfth century, is here shown to have occurred as early as the end of the ninth century in the region extending from Langres to Mâcon.

Paul Meyer. *Fragment d'un ms. d'Aie d'Avignon.* 15 pages. In 1861 M. Guessard and M. Paul Meyer published an edition of this Old-French epic based chiefly on the readings of a Paris manuscript. Since then additional evidence has been found in the manuscript notes of Claude Fauchet, in a fragment at Brussels, in a fragment at Venice, and lastly in the Archives de la commune de Vuillafans, near Besançon. The last-named fragment is here published in full.

Otto Klob. *A Vida de Sancto Amaro, texte portugais du XIV^e siècle.* 15 pages. The basis of this edition of the text is a manuscript preserved in the Bibliotheca Nacional of Lisbon. This and a similar version in Spanish probably both go back to the same Latin source. The same manuscript also contains *A lenda dos santos Barlaão e Josafate*, and the *Vida de Santo Aleixo*, both of which have already been published.

Hermann Suchier. *La Fille sans mains*. 20 pages. This Catalan text is published from a manuscript now at the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, but formerly in the Bibliotheca Colombina of Seville. It is one of a series of versions of this same popular tale which Prof. Suchier proposes to publish in extension of his treatment in the *Œuvres poétiques de Beaumanoir*.

Lazare Sainéan. *Les Éléments orientaux en Roumain*. 28 pages. Having published a general work on this subject in the year 1900, but written in Roumanian, the author of this article here gives a résumé of his book for the benefit of those numerous persons who are not adepts in the Roumanian language. These borrowings are naturally grouped under the headings: *Emprunts préosmanli*, *emprunts tatars*, *emprunts osmanli*.

Comptes rendus. *Miscellanea linguistica in onore di Graziadio Ascoli* (G. Paris, with numerous discussions of etymologies). Dr. F. Geo. Mohl, *Les origines romanes: La première personne du pluriel en gallo-romain* (G. Paris). E. Stengel, *Das altfranzösische Rolandslied* (L. Brandin). *Raccolta di studii critici dedicata ad Alessandro d'Ancona* (G. Paris). Leandro Biadene, *Carmina de Mensibus di Bonvesin da la Riva* (G. Paris).

Périodiques. *Zeitschrift für romanische philologie*, XXV. 4, discussion of etymologies (G. Paris). *Romanische Forschungen*, X, discussion of etymologies (G. Paris). *Archivio glottologico italiano*, XIV-XV, discussion of etymologies (Mario Roques). *Supplementi periodici all' Archivio glottologico italiano*, I-VI, discussion of etymologies (Mario Roques).

Chronique. Prof. John E. Matzke has completed his edition of the works of the Anglo-Norman poet Simund de Freisne, which he will propose for publication to the Société des anciens textes français. An account is given of the work in the Romance Languages which is being done at Harvard University, concluding with the following statement: "Aucune des universités américaines ne peut dans le domaine de nos études le disputer à la doyenne de toutes, la vieille université Harvard (does this refer to the past or future?); mais nous attendons aussi de plusieurs d'entre elles, dans un très prochain avenir, d'intéressants travaux de philologie et surtout d'histoire littéraire. Nous nous félicitons d'autant plus de cet état de choses que nous nous rappelons le temps, peu éloigné, où la philologie romane et l'histoire littéraire du moyen âge roman étaient à peu près inconnues aux États-Unis."

Livres annoncés sommairement. 26 titles. Dr. Adolf Zauner, *Romanische Sprachwissenschaft* ("Ce petit manuel de linguistique romane est excellent"). Theodor Birt, *Der Hiatus bei Plautus und die lateinische Aspiration bis zum X. Jhd. nach Chr.* ("La question de l'hiatus dans Plaute ne tient dans ce gros volume

qu'une place assez restreinte; la plus grande partie en est consacrée à l'étude de la prononciation de l'h en latin"). An English Miscellany presented to Dr. Furnivall in honor of his seventy-fifth birthday.

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

ENGLISCHE STUDIEN, herausgegeben von JOHANNES HOOPS.
Band XXVII, 1900.

I.—J. Koch. Critical Observations on the Globe Edition of Chaucer's Works (edited by Pollard, Heath, and Liddell). The writer had already reviewed this edition at some length. He now takes seventy pages to show that Pollard is mistaken in dating the Italian influence upon Chaucer from his second, rather than his first, visit to Italy; that he is again mistaken in explaining variations in the MSS as due to subsequent alteration at the poet's hand; that the text of the Canterbury Tales by Pollard, and of the Minor Poems by Heath, show an astonishing want of judgment and accuracy; that, if Liddell attributes fragment C of the Romaunt of the Rose to Chaucer, he is bound to do the same by fragment A, but that the authenticity of either has never been proved in spite of Kaluza's industry. The evidence cited by Koch is detailed, convincing, and even superfluous in amount. It is a pity that the diligence which it displays has been devoted to the criticism of a book that really deserves less. On pages 227–234 of this volume Koch resumes the subject of the Romaunt of the Rose to observe that Skeat's evidence of Chaucer's hand in fragment A, cited from the King's Quair and Lydgate, is merely collateral. Cf. *Athenaeum* 3741, 3743; Skeat, Preface to Chaucerian Pieces.

K. D. Bülbring. Notes in Old and Middle English Grammar. The article deals with palatal tendencies of certain consonants in Old English, such as the phonetic development of OE *feccan* and ME *focche*, the pronunciation of OE *cc* and *cg*, the tendency of such pure dentals as *d, t, s, þ, r, l, n*, when followed by *e*, to recede to an alveolar, or even a prepalatal, articulation in OE and ME, and then to alter the following *e* to *i*. The writer adds a note on palatal or mouillée *s* in OE. The article reveals wide and exact knowledge and exquisite precision.

K. Luick. The Origin of the Modern English Diphthongs, *ai* and *au*. The same subject was discussed by Sarrazin in the last volume, who concluded that the transformation of ME *i* and *u* to *ai* and *au* began in the west Midlands, and thence spread over England. Luick says that these conclusions are wrong, being based upon insufficient and blundering observation, and that Sarrazin follows a false theory of extension of a sound-change from dialect to dialect. The problem is exceedingly difficult, yet the writer discovers certain signs which point to the region of Edinburgh as the place where *ai* first appears.

E. Koeppel. The Authenticity of the Visions of Petrarch and the Visions of Bellay commonly ascribed to Spenser. The translations from Petrarch and du Bellay bearing these titles were first announced as Spenser's when they were published by Ponsonby in his *Complaints* in 1591. They had, however, been already printed in 1569 in a miscellany known as the *Theatre of Worldlings*, but without Spenser's name. Ponsonby reproduced the Visions of Petrarch with only slight alterations, but the Visions of Bellay were both modified in other respects, and were changed from blank verse to rhyme and recast in sonnet-form. This revision is undoubtedly Spenser's. That the earlier versions were not, Koeppel attempted to show in *Englische Studien* XV. 53 ff. J. B. Fletcher replied in favor of Spenser in *Modern Language Notes* XIII. 409 ff. Koeppel now rejoins with a fair criticism of his opponent, but hardly strengthens his own rather weak position.

The Theses of Wendt. Wendt's theses, printed in volume XXVI, serve to define the position of those teachers of English and French in the German schools who take the most radical and utilitarian views in matters of method and aim. The printed discussion of the theses is here continued by Ellinger, resumed on pages 263-268 by Witzenbock, and on pages 411-435 by F. Beyer and Klinghardt, by whom it is closed. These writers, with varying degrees of concurrence, side with Wendt on the whole. Beyer's opinion is representative. Writing from south Germany, he says that Germans in temperament are idealists; but Germany's present position in the world demands that her citizens be practical men, and well-fitted to engage in international affairs of all kinds. It is therefore the business of the teachers of French and English, especially in the *realschule*, to train their pupils in the peculiar use of these languages, and in the peculiar knowledge of these peoples and countries which will serve them best as men of affairs. The whole discussion is only another pathetic instance of the helplessness of the idealist who tries to convert a utilitarian, or even offer him a convincing apology. The various comments should be of interest to those who teach modern languages on this side of the Atlantic.

Reviews. The more important reviews are as follows: the first volume of the second edition of ten Brink's *Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur*, reviewed by Kölbing; Schipper's edition of King Alfred's *Bede* in the Grein Bibliothek, reviewed favorably by Binz; *Hamlet in Iceland*, being the Icelandic *Ambales Saga*, etc., edited and translated by I. Gollancz, reviewed by Jantzen, who finds it in many respects unscholarly. *Die Kritik der Englischen Litteratur des siebenzehnten und achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, by Hamelius, is reviewed by Schnabel in a paragraph exemplary for its justice, directness, and incision. Schnabel's reviews are well worth the study of any one who wishes to advance in the art of writing book notices. They are brief,

authoritative, readable, and appreciative alike of a book's artistic and scholarly values, if the two are not one, yet at the same time fearless in their condemnation of shoddy. His manner of dealing with frivolities is illustrated on page 186 in a review of Adolphus Jack's *Essay on the Novel* as illustrated by Scott and Miss Austen. Favorable reviews by Schnabel are those of T. A. Fischer's *Leben und Werke Alfred Lord Tennyson's*, and of E. Koeppel's *Tennyson*, on page 289. Other interesting notices from the same hand are found on pages 131-135. Beginning on page 135 are a number of summaries of 'Programme,' among others, of F. Brincke's *Germanische Alterthümer in dem Angelsächsischen Gedichte Judith*, and F. Münzner's *Die Quellen zu Longfellow's Golden Legend*.

II.—M. Kaluza, Eugen Kölbing. A sketch of Professor Kölbing's life and achievements, written soon after his death in 1899 at the age of 53. The picture drawn by his former student is that of a man of enormous energy and industry, qualities which distinguished his work in such various fields as Romance, Scandinavian, and Middle English philology, in the editing of Byron, and in founding *Englische Studien* and serving as its editor for twenty-two years. The article is accompanied with a portrait, a list of Kölbing's publications since 1869, including notes and reviews, and filling twenty pages, and a list of fifty-seven dissertations prepared under his direction. Of the last nearly all deal with Middle English.

A. Pogatscher. *English Etymologies*. The article includes ten altogether. The words dealt with are OE *æfesn*, *āncra*, *ēzor*, flood; *orȝol*, pride; *sācerd*, priest; *ȝl-twist*, fowling; Old Icelandic *byrr*, favorable wind (ME *bir*); ME *ægæde*, luxury; *ēgēde*, foolish; modern, *arrish*, *eddish*, *ettidge*, aftermath; *sewer*, waiter (cf. *Paradise Lost*, IX. 38).

W. von Wurzbach, George Etheredge. A superficial account of the dramatist and his works, beginning with the statement that the dramatic period of the Restoration 'finds its like only in the Aristophanic comedy of ancient Athens.'

C. Stoffel. The Quasi-appositional Superlative after 'one'. The construction is exemplified in Chaucer's 'Oon the faireste under sonne', and occurs in English from Aelfric to Shakespeare. It is here explained as a Latinism (cf. *iustissimus unus*). After Shakespeare it is supplanted by the not wholly equivalent construction 'one of' followed first by the singular, then later by the more logical plural.

Reviews. Among others are notices of Kluge and Lutz's *English Etymology*, by Pogatscher; of Brandl's new edition of the Schlegel-Tieck Shakespeare, by Schröer; of Heinrich Gillardson's *Shelley's Einwirkung auf Byron*, by Ackermann; of F. Roeder's *Die Familie bei den Angelsachsen*, by Liebermann.

The Miscellanea include notes from A. E. H. Swaen on two corrupt passages in Arden of Feversham; from Hoops, on an autograph of Keats denying the publisher's statement that *Hyperion* was left unfinished because *Endymion* had been condemned by critics; and from W. A. Read, including a dozen instances where the influence of Keats' diction seems to be apparent in Tennyson. Swaen adds several notes in lexicography, consisting chiefly of illustrations and definitions of rare meanings, in some cases supplementary to the Oxford Dictionary.

W. Heuser. The Development of *ü* in open syllables in Middle English. The article deals with a difficult problem, and one which has hitherto been discussed with various results. Other vowels in stressed open syllables are regularly lengthened in this period, but with *ī* and *ū* the case is not clear. Luick had concluded that before the fourteenth century *ū*- and *ī*- in open syllables had altered in Northumbrian regions and along the border to *ō* and *ē*. Morsbach held that they remained *ī* and *ū*; Sarrazin, that they had lengthened throughout England. These opinions were none of them final because they rested on insufficient evidence. Heuser goes into the matter much more thoroughly, dividing his abundant evidence into four groups; (1) Rhymes in northern and Scottish texts; (2) spelling in northern texts; (3) spelling in Scottish texts; (4) spelling in Midland texts. His texts are well chosen and his inferences cautious. The conclusion of the whole matter takes the form of a law which prevails throughout Middle English dialects. (1) In syllables which were originally open, but which have become closed through silencing of a final *e* (e. g. *cum*, *luf* etc.), the *u* (spelled *o* in the south) remains short. (2) In syllables which remained open (e. g. *hony*, *somer*, *thorough*) it became the rule to write *o* for *u*, and the quantity of this *o* at the period in question is variable between short and half-long. This variableness ceases when the modern practice begins of phonetically doubling the consonant after a short vowel (e. g. *honey*, *summer*, etc.). It will be seen that Heuser, as he himself admits, here revives ten Brink's doctrine of 'schwebende vocale' which has, for no very apparent reason, been abandoned of late.

H. B. Baildon, Robert Louis Stevenson. Stevenson's biographer and schoolmate continues from the last volume his somewhat desultory comment on the novelist's works.

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CHARLES GROSVENOR OSGOOD.

BRIEF MENTION.

No Grecian can read his Shakespeare without being struck by the number of happy equivalents the poet furnishes for Greek words, otherwise without adequate translation; and Greek syntax is often more illuminated by a Shakespearian parallel than by much discourse about the psychology of the moods and the loves of the cases. The compilation of a Shakespeare-Greek Lexicon and a Greek-Shakespeare Lexicon would be more profitable work for a young scholar than much mechanical sorting that passes for philology nowadays; and for such a task one indispensable help would be the *Shakespeare Lexicon* of ALEXANDER SCHMIDT of blessed memory, a work which I prize so highly that, crowded as the Journal is, I must make space to call attention to the new edition, just published by Stechert of New York. While the body of the lexicon does not show much change, there is a valuable appendix by GEORG SARRAZIN, with a select list of new renderings and interpretations alphabetically arranged. Among the other reissues of standard dictionaries I may note in passing the new GRIEB'S *German-English and English-German Dictionary*, which has been worked over and enlarged by the well-known scholar, ARNOLD SCHRÖER (New York, Henry Frowde), a useful work for ready reference, if ready reference were not so dangerous a thing. By the way, I hope that the shade of that punctilious student of English, FITZEDWARD HALL, will not be disturbed by the discovery that the hideous Americanism *at that*, which the Muret-Sanders Dictionary has pilloried, is to be found in an English author as noted as WILLIAM MORRIS, *Stories of the Kings of Norway*, II, p. 25, see Beiblatt zur Anglia, Sept., 1902. Cf. A. J. P. XVIII 124. So, to adopt the language of another (Essays and Studies, p. 484), so does the glittering, voluble mercury of the American lingo make a dull, gray amalgam with the pure gold of the English tongue.

The project of a Greek-Shakespeare Lexicon naturally leads up to the preface that Mr. BEVAN has prefixed to his *Prometheus Bound*, a rendering which is not unworthy of its sumptuous dress (David Nutt); and that is saying a good deal. In that preface Mr. BEVAN discourses on the advantage that the language of the Elizabethan drama gives to the translator of the Greek drama, in its vocabulary, characteristic phrases, turns

of expression. 'Here, then', he says, 'we have a model to guide us, a language to draw upon in translating the plays of the Greeks'. But as the Elizabethan spirit does not conform absolutely to the Greek spirit, we must also make draughts on the Hebrew prophets, for 'the Greek tragedians stood to their people in some ways as the Hebrew prophets stood to theirs', and our second model is the English Bible. The third model is Milton, who took up 'the blank verse and style of diction' which had been developed by the Elizabethan drama and 'subjected them to modifications and refinements under the very influence of classical type and the Bible'. These be our models, these our materials. By careful study of these models, by judicious tempering of these materials, the resulting Corinthian brass will enable us to make translations that shall abide through the iron age of the English language.

Now I suppose that every translator of Aischylos into English has been more or less consciously guided by the same models that Mr. BEVAN sets up. The language of Attic tragedy was far removed from the every-day speech of the Athenian cit; and that merciless critic, Aristophanes, helps us to draw the subtle line that divides art from artifice. But as the world moves on, as the people who speak the English language are getting more out of touch with Shakespeare, with the Authorized Version; with Milton, as our prose becomes less and less reminiscential, as we live a less and less historical and more and more cosmopolitan life, as foreign exchange becomes more simplified by banking facilities, and modern thought can be decanted from one language into another without difficulty—why, a translation constructed under the guidance of the models that Mr. BEVAN accepts will become more and more exotic with the lapse of time, and the artistic translator will have to furnish a glossary throughout, as Mr. BEVAN has done here and there. It is, after all, a perilous business to attempt the reproduction of an earlier stage of the language. In a ballad that I wrote many years ago in half-mocking imitation of other Brummagem performances of the same kind (*Essays and Studies*, p. 190) I used 'moe' for 'more', thinking that 'moe' had a genuine ring, but the third edition of SCHMIDT'S *Shakespeare Lexicon*, which I have just hailed with enthusiasm, informs me that 'moe' is plural only, whereas I had employed it as a singular. My ballad 'doth not please me moe (more)'.

O course I cannot undertake to ask in detail how far Mr. BEVAN has been true to his models. The criticism of translations is an infinite business, like the measuring of asymptotes. Apart

from those renderings in which we have a real metempsychosis (A. J. P. XXI 108), in which the translation is reborn into a new creature, such as FitzGerald's Agamemnon, such as Mr. Way's Euripides, the comparison of a translation with the original is the reverse of a pastime, especially if the critic has privately or publicly dabbled in the art. Here one finds what may be called a success where one has failed utterly oneself, here another dead failure, where everybody has failed. To be artistic, a translation must have an artistic form, and the artistic form cannot be simply transferred, it must be transmuted; and I look back sadly at my own reams of experiments in 'translation into the metres of the original'. The English trimeter is a failure even when it does not go to pieces as an Alexandrine; and then again the English pentapody reminds one how restless the Greek would have felt it to be. Here, then, is opportunity for interminable comment on Mr. BEVAN's choice of metres, his choice of rhymes (A. J. P. XIII 517). All I can say is that Mr. BEVAN does not seem to have realized how severely conscientious a workman Aischylos was in metrical art also. And then the 'needs must' of the verse and the consequent padding, the consequent clipping. One comes away from the best translation, thankful that he can read the original if only after a fashion. Reading Mr. BEVAN's work as an original poem, the most benevolent critic will hardly class his translation among the metempsychoses. Much of it cannot be appreciated without the original, though it does not reach Browningsque depths in that regard. So f. i. v. 2 no one would understand aright 'inhuman solitude', unless it were confronted with ἀβροτον ἐρημίαν. Familiar words masquerade in picturesque costumes, a darling sin of 'spirited' translators, which never fails to win applause from the mob of critics, though it is death to the understanding. See my Persius 2, 45; 5, 1. So *νηλὴς* is 'steel-hard' (v. 42), *τῶν νῦν παρόντων* (v. 47) 'this coil', *τόνδε* (v. 70) 'this caitiff' *ἐλαφραίς* (v. 127), 'nimble-driven' and *ἔπαισσα* (v. 247) 'askanced'. *προσεύχον* (v. 937) 'fleece' can hardly seem to a Scot so exotic as it does to us; I forgive 'yarely' (v. 52) for *ἐπέειξεν*, and I am not proof against 'tarr' for *ἐπιθώξω* (v. 72). As for the Aeschylean compounds, any translator may be pardoned for evading the problems they suggest. Less pardonable is the intrusion of compounds where no compounds exist. He must be a real genius who can make a satisfactory poetical compound in English, something that is better than the monsters that Teutonizing scribblers inflict on the lovers of English speech. Few, if any, of Mr. BEVAN's compounds commend themselves. 'Rock-hung' is a false analogy to 'rock-bound' and 'rock-ribbed'. 'Right-areading' is not a good rendering for *ὀρθοβούλου* and 'sudden-fill'd', 'downward-ruining', 'grievous-girding' and the verb 'palsy-shake', are not beautiful, whatever their warrant.

But criticism of this sort is rather cheap, and I do not wish to do injustice to Mr. BEVAN's meritorious study, and so pass on to another rendering of Aischylos, this time into French. A French translator is not likely to sin by making false compounds. The language demands the substitution of a relative sentence, but it may be worth while to note that the relative sentence in French brings about a much closer unity than does the relative sentence in English. Victor Hugo's 'L'Homme qui rit' is not 'The Man Who Laughs' as it was actually rendered in one American translation, and Oliver Wendell Holmes' 'Roche qui pleure' does not produce the effect of 'Rock that weeps'. But apart from the compounds, what is for me the double refraction of a translation from Greek into French puts M. MAZON's *L'Orestie d'Eschyle* (Paris, Fontemoing) beyond the reach of my criticism. In the *Avertissement* M. MAZON says that he has aimed at exactness and consequently at clearness. Aischylos, he continues, is not obscure, precisely what has been said of Herakleitos (A. J. P. XXIII 346). But his language is synthetic and hence impossible to copy in true French (*à calquer en vrai français*). We must not think of translating his words but his ideas. We must analyze where he has condensed. This is unfaithfulness beyond a doubt, but it is, says M. MAZON, with national *énigme*, a necessary unfaithfulness. Like Lancelot, M. MAZON is falsely true. So from our point of view M. MAZON's translation is really not a translation but an interpretation, and as such will be of service to the student. An Aischylos without half-lights is no Aischylos, but the garish day may enable us to understand the half-lights better. One feature, however, of this rendering may be noted. There is, of course, no attempt to reproduce the metres of the original, but there is an attempt to indicate their character. The choral parts are printed in italics, and on the margin the movement is characterized as in a piece of music—'animé', 'un peu retenu', 'plus vif', 'agité', 'modéré' and the like. This is quite in keeping with the present development of metrical study. If we give up the $\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ of the different metres, and fall back on the music (A. J. P. XVI 394), no wonder that musical directions are introduced. Unfortunately the musical directions are inferences from the text, and most readers can draw those inferences for themselves.

In so conservative a country as England is, history repeats itself most stolidly. Johnson in his *Lives of the Poets* pooh-poohs Milton's saying that 'to read Latin with an English mouth is as ill a hearing as Law French'; and the famous programme of Palmer and Munro, issued in 1871, seems to have had little effect on the heavy ears of their countrymen. In a recent number of the *Oxford Point of View* Professor ROBINSON

ELLIS makes a passionate appeal to the men of the new century, let us hope with better chances of success. For the last twenty-five or thirty years the tide has been setting in this country pretty steadily away from English tradition. True, some years ago, Professor MICHAEL MONTGOMERY FISHER, a highly esteemed Latinist of Missouri, tried to stem the current in a pamphlet on the Three Pronunciations of Latin, and every now and then one notes the bubbling cry of some strong swimmer or some frantic flounderer, but there is, I believe, a practical consensus in America and Professor ELLIS actually invokes American example. Let us pray that before the Caecilians—or shall we say Rhodians?—go to Oxford from America some *modus proferendi* may be reached.

What Pliny the Younger (Ep. 3, 1, 4) says of Spurrina at sixty-seven, *sola ex senectute prudentia*, might be said of GOMPERZ at seventy, if it were not that we moderns have pushed the limits of old age a good ten years on. Still, as Swinburne declares that only the poet can judge the poet, so the author of the *Griechische Denker* in the third of his *Platonische Aufsätze, Ueber die Composition der Gesetze* (Wien, Carl Gerold's Sohn) evidently feels that only an old man can judge an old man. Old experience makes no small contribution to wisdom, and GOMPERZ maintains that at all events only a man who has written a big book, a work of long breath, can judge as to the possibility of this mistake and that. To saddle all the difficulties of Plato's Laws on the unfortunate Philippos of Opus is unfair. To say that no author is to anticipate the result for which he is preparing the way, that he is to belt himself so as never to show 'the baby figure of the giant mass of things to come at large', is a counsel of perfection that is only to be expected of a young man like Ivo Bruns, who, unfortunately, was destined never to become old; and even Zeller at twenty-five was not a good judge of the work of a man of eighty. Everybody knows that the Laws has come down to us unfinished, and if every modern author, after he has spent years and years in composing and revising a work, is eager for a new edition, so that he may correct and harmonize the errors and the inconsistencies of his best endeavors, why should we not expect to find here and there in a vast structure like the Laws, which the builder left incomplete, broken bricks and untempered mortar?

According to GOMPERZ the Laws is not a congeries of essays, huddled together by the unlucky Opuntian, but a unit; and he has traced the cross-references that run through all the twelve

books and that show in most cases an exact correspondence. The network of these references is so close, so taut, that the redactor cannot have had any hand in the work, and instead of vilipending Philippos' bad editing, we ought rather to admire the tenacious memory (*die eiserne Gedächtniskraft*) of the great thinker as he wrought on at his patriarchal age.

To expect the highest stylistic art everywhere in Plato is asking too much even of genius, and especially of an aged genius, whose last estate, by the way, has been pathetically described by Wilamowitz in his *Aristoteles u. Athen*, I 336. And then think of Plato's versatility, think of the rapidity with which he changes his point of view. What men set down as inconsistency is often simply a shift in the angle of vision.

Of course, the Platonic scholar will not fail to study this new contribution to the fascinating subject, which is handled in GOMPERZ'S attractive way. Of especial interest to the student of Plato's style is the second appendix, in which GOMPERZ calls attention to one peculiarity of the later dialogues, *Sophistes*, *Politicus* and *Philebus*, viz., the mannerism of interrupting the didactic monotony by mechanical appeals to the interlocutors. For example, *Phileb.* 60 A. ΣΩ. Οἶμαι γὰρ οὕτω πως τὰ τότε λεχθέντα ῥηθῆναι. ΠΡΩΤ. Πῶς; 60 B. Σ. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τότε τότε καὶ νῦν ἡμῖν ἄν ξυνομολογοίτο; Π. Τὸ ποῖον; . . . Σ. Τὴν τὰγαθοῦ διαφέρειν φύσιν τῷδε τῶν ἄλλων. Π. Τίτι; This beadle's rap to keep the sleepy children awake is a sad contrast to the liveliness of the earlier dialogues, and GOMPERZ emphasizes the contrast in this respect between the *Theaetetus* and its tardy continuation, the *Sophistes*. How full the *Laws* is of peculiar expressions and turns we all know now, but long before the mania for this line of research set in the *Laws* was to me a quarry of examples for exceptional things, and the specimens of the periphrastic perfect optative with *ἄν* in my *Syntax* were collected a generation ago (*S. C. G.* § 288). Somehow they show the natural meticulousness of old age.

W. H. B. The appearance of such a work as Mr. GREGORY SMITH'S *Specimens of Middle Scots* (Blackwood and Sons, 1902) is a very gratifying phenomenon. It points to a wider recognition of the facts that the Scottish of the literary period is not a mere "dialect" (except in the sense that Chaucer's East Midland is a dialect) but the lineal descendant of the great Northumbrian or Anglian tongue, and that the rich and beautiful literature of that period is the representative of the once great Northern school. Perhaps we may indulge the hope that at no very distant day some knowledge of this literature will be recognised as essential to any thorough course in English.

While Mr. Smith is right in calling the specimens he has given us "Middle Scots," we cannot agree with him in assuming that Early Scottish was identical—or would be found to be identical, if we had it—with the Northumbrian from 1100-1500; though we freely admit that the resemblance would be close. Unfortunately we have no Scottish of that early period, so we cannot bring the matter to a test; but we should like to see the steps of the process that transformed the verse of the Ruthwell Cross to the rimed octosyllabics of Wyntoun, and that gave us Hampole on one side of the Tweed and Barbour on the other.

The selections in this book are excellent, the notes judicious and illuminating, and the Introduction the best brief treatise on the subject that we have seen.

K. F. S. Huvelin's recent monograph, *Les Tablettes Magiques et le Droit Romain* (Macon, 1901), is a work of universal interest and suggestiveness. The author brings out with greater clearness than has heretofore been done the undoubted fact that in Rome, as elsewhere, there was no distinction, primordially, between secular law and religious law. Pernice comments on the fact that the technical vocabulary of both is identical to a striking degree. But, as Huvelin's work goes far to prove, this is not because the terminology of *fas* was borrowed by *ius*. It is because *ius* and *fas* had a common origin. Their separation belongs to a later and more advanced stage of society. The main object, therefore, of Huvelin's discussion is to show that the Roman law, especially, the Roman law of *obligatio*, had its origin in religious rites. It should, of course, be emphasized that, at the early period of which he is thinking, religious rites are practically identical with magic rites. The study of primitive cults convinces one that the ancient feud between religion and magic derives not a little of its bitterness from the fact that it was originally a family quarrel.

Of all magic rites the most ancient and conservative is the *devotio*. Huvelin, therefore, makes this type the basis of his investigation, discusses the philosophy of it in its various forms, and the antique doctrine of Nemesis from which it was derived, and applies his results to the question in hand. The work is one which, from its very nature, leads into all manner of by-paths, interesting to any student of antique magic and folk-lore. His discussion, for example, of the *Ephesia grammata*, based, of course, on the well-known work of Wessely, shows that we may yet be able to give a complete analysis of Cato's famous prescription for a dislocated joint (r. r. 160).

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CORRIGENDA.

p. 2, l. 1, for 'largely' read 'large'; p. 20, l. 17, for 'verbs' read 'doubt', p. 23, l. 28, for 'phenomena' read 'phenomenon'; p. 25, l. 6, for 'department' read 'departments'; p. 29, l. 10, for 'Kunstler' read 'Künstler'; p. 97 l. 8 read 'Sibyllina'; p. 100, l. 24, for 'Thukydiden' read 'Thukydidēs'; p. 106, l. 30, for 'all' read 'at all'; p. 108, l. 26, read 'on the nominal element of the verb rather than on the verbal element of the noun'; p. 111, l. 33, read ZIMMERN'S 'The Babylonian and the Hebrew Genesis'; l. 37, for Euripides read Euripide; p. 112, l. 13, read 'zu Homers Ilias und Odyssee'; p. 112, l. 13, read 'zu Homers Ilias und Odyssee'; p. 141, l. 2, for 'unannealed' read 'unannealed'; p. 223, l. 45, read 'dépendance'; p. 229, l. 26, read 'Cesareo.'

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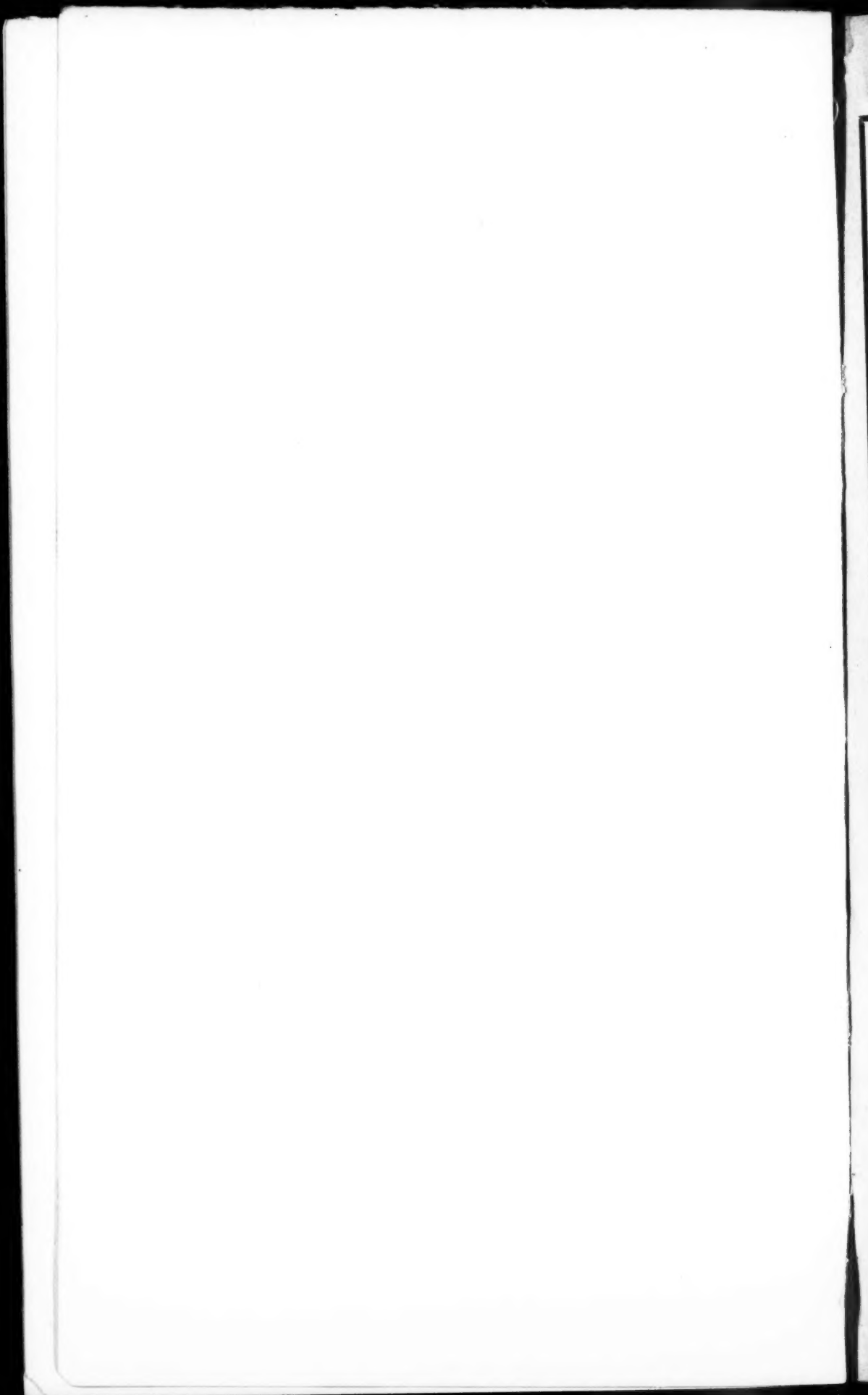
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